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THE CHURCH ITS OWN WITNESS.

THE Vatican Council, in its Decree on Faith has these words: "The Church itself, by its marvelous propagation, its eminent sanctity, its inexhaustible fruitfulness in all good things, its catholic unity and invincible stability, is a vast and perpetual motive of credibility, and an irrefragable witness of its own Divine legation."* Its Divine Founder said: "I am the Light of the world;" and, to His Apostles, He said also, "Ye are the light of the world," and of His Church He added, "A city seated on a hill cannot be hid." The Vatican Council says: "The Church is its own witness." My purpose is to draw out this assertion more fully.

These words affirm that the Church is self-evident, as light is to the eye, and through sense, to the intellect. Next to the sun at noonday, there is nothing in the world more manifest than the one visible Universal Church. Both the faith and the infidelity of the world bear witness to it. It is loved and hated, trusted and

* "Const. Dogm. de Fide Catholica, c. iii.

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feared, served and assaulted, honored and blasphemed: it is Christ or Antichrist, the Kingdom of God or the imposture of Satan. It pervades the civilized world. No man and no nation can ignore it, none can be indifferent to it. Why is all this? How is its existence to be accounted for?

Let me suppose that I am an unbeliever in Christianity, and that some *friend* should make me promise to examine the evidence to show that Christianity is a Divine revelation; I should then sift and test the evidence as strictly as if it were in a court of law, and in a cause of life and death; my will would be in suspense: it would in no way control the process of my intellect. If it had any inclination from the equilibrium, it would be towards mercy and hope; but this would not add a feather's weight to the evidence, nor sway the intellect a hair's breadth.

After the examination has been completed, and my intellect convinced, the evidence being sufficient to prove that Christianity is a divine revelation, nevertheless I am not yet a Christian. All this sifting brings me to the conclusion of a chain of reasoning; but I am not yet a believer. The last act of reason has brought me to the brink of the first act of faith. They are generically distinct and separable. The acts of reason are intellectual, and jealous of the interference of the will. The act of faith is an imperative act of the will, founded on and justified by the process and conviction of the intellect. Hitherto I have been a critic: henceforward, if I will, I become a disciple.

It may here be objected that no man can so far suspend the inclination of the will when the question is, has God indeed spoken to man or no? is the revealed law of purity, generosity, perfection, divine, or only the poetry of imagination? Can a man be indifferent between two such sides of the problem? Will he not desire the higher and better side to be true? and if he desire, will he not incline to the side that he desires to find true? Can a moral being be absolutely indifferent between two such issues? and can two such issues be equally attractive to a moral agent? Can it be indifferent and all the same to us whether God has made Himself and His will known to us or not? Is there no attraction in light, no repulsion in darkness? Does not the intrinsic and eternal distinction of good and evil make itself felt in spite of the will? Are we not responsible to "receive the truth in the love of it?" Nevertheless, evidence has its own

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limits and quantities, and cannot be made more or less by any act of the will. And yet, what is good or bad, high or mean, lovely or hateful, ennobling or degrading, must attract or repel men as they are better or worse in their moral sense; for an equilibrium between good and evil, to God or to man, is impossible.

The last act of my reason, then, is distinct from my first act of faith precisely in this: so long as I was uncertain I suspended the inclination of my will, as an act of fidelity to conscience and of loyalty to truth; but the process once complete, and the conviction once attained, my will imperatively constrains me to believe, and I become a disciple of a Divine revelation.

My friend next tells me that there are Christian Scriptures, and I go through precisely the same process of critical examination and final conviction, the last act of reasoning preceding, as before, the first act of faith.

He then tells me that there is a Church claiming to be divinely founded, divinely guarded, and divinely guided in its custody of Christianity and of the Christian Scriptures.

Once more I have the same twofold process of reasoning and of believing to go through.

There is, however, this difference in the subject-matter: Christianity is an order of supernatural truth appealing intellectually to my reason; the Christian Scriptures are voiceless, and need a witness. They cannot prove their own mission, much less their own authenticity or inspiration. But the Church is visible to the eye, audible to the ear, self-manifesting and self-asserting: I cannot escape from it. If I go to the east, it is there; if I go to the west, it is there also. If I stay at home, it is before me, seated on the hill; if I turn away from it, I am surrounded by its light. It pursues me and calls to me. I cannot deny its existence; I cannot be indifferent to it; I must either listen to it or wilfully stop my ears; I must heed it or defy it, love it or hate it. But my first attitude towards it is to try it with forensic strictness, neither pronouncing it to be Christ nor Antichrist till I have tested its origin, claim, and character. Let us take down the case in shorthand.

1. It says that it interpenetrates all the nations of the civilized world. In some it holds the whole nation in its unity, in others it holds fewer; but in all it is present, visible, audible,

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naturalized, and known as the one Catholic Church, a name that none can appropriate. Though often claimed and controversially assumed, none can retain it; it falls off. The world knows only one Catholic Church, and always restores the name to the right owner.

2. It is not a national body, but extra-national, accused of its foreign relations and foreign dependence. It is international, and independent in a supernational unity.

3. In faith, divine worship, sacred ceremonial, discipline, government, from the highest to the lowest, it is the same in every place.

4. It speaks all languages in the civilized world.

5. It is obedient to one Head, outside of all nations, except one only; and in that nation, his headship is not national but world-wide.

6. The world-wide sympathy of the Church in all lands with its Head has been manifested in our days, and before our eyes, by a series of public assemblages in Rome, of which nothing like or second to it can be found. In 1854, 350 Bishops of all nations surrounded their Head when he defined the Immaculate Conception. In 1862, 400 Bishops assembled at the canonization of the Martyrs of Japan. In 1867, 500 Bishops came to keep the eighteenth centenary of St. Peter's martyrdom. In 1870, 700 Bishops assembled in the Vatican Council. On the Feast of the Epiphany, 1870, the Bishops of thirty nations during two whole hours made profession of faith in their own languages, kneeling before their head. Add to this, that in 1869, in the sacerdotal jubilee of Pius IX., Rome was filled for months by pilgrims from all lands in Europe and beyond the sea, from the Old World and from the New, bearing all manner of gifts and oblations to the Head of the Universal Church. To this, again, must be added the world-wide outcry and protest of all the Catholic unity against the seizure and sacrilege of September, 1870, when Rome was taken by the Italian Revolution.

7. All this came to pass not only by reason of the great love of the Catholic world for Pius IX., but because they revered him as the successor of St. Peter and the Vicar of Jesus Christ. For that undying reason the same events have been reproduced in the time of Leo XIII. In the early months of this year Rome was once more filled with pilgrims of all nations, coming in thousands as

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representatives of millions in all nations, to celebrate the sacerdotal jubilee of the Sovereign Pontiff. The courts of the Vatican could not find room for the multitude of gifts and offerings of every kind which were sent from all quarters of the world.

8. These things are here said, not because of any other importance, but because they set forth in the most visible and self-evident way the living unity and the luminous universality of the One Catholic and Roman Church.

9. What has thus far been said is before our eyes at this hour. It is no appeal to history, but to a visible and palpable fact. Men may explain it as they will; deny it, they cannot. They see the Head of the Church year by year speaking to the nations of the world; treating with Empires, Republics and Governments. There is no other man on earth that can so bear himself. Neither from Canterbury nor from Constantinople can such a voice go forth to which rulers and people listen.

This is the century of revolutions. Rome has in our time been besieged three times; three Popes have been driven out of it, two have been shut up in the Vatican. The city is now full of the Revolution. The whole Church has been tormented by Falck laws, Mancini laws, and Crispi laws. An unbeliever in Germany said some years ago, "The net is now drawn so tight about the Church, that if it escapes this time I will believe in it." Whether he believes, or is even alive now to believe, I cannot say.

Nothing thus far has been said as proof. The visible, palpable facts, which are at this moment before the eyes of all men, speak for themselves. There is one, and only one, world-wide unity of which these things can be said. It is a fact and a phenomenon for which an intelligible account must be rendered. If it be only a human system built up by the intellect, will and energy of men, let the adversaries prove it. The burden is upon them; and they will have more to do as we go on.

Thus far we have rested upon the evidence of sense and fact. We must now go on to history and reason.

Every religion and every religious body known to history has varied from itself and broken up. Brahminism has given birth to Buddhism; Mahometanism is parted into the Arabian and European Khalifates; the Greek schism into the Russian, Constantinopolitan, and Bulgarian autocephalous fragment; Protestantism into its multitudinous diversities. All have departed

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from their original type, and all are continually developing new and irreconcilable, intellectual and ritualistic, diversities and repulsions. How is it that, with all diversities of language, civilization, race, interest, and conditions, social and political, including persecution and warfare, the Catholic nations are at this day, even when in warfare, in unchanged unity of faith, communion, worship and spiritual sympathy with each other and with their Head? This needs a rational explanation.

It may be said in answer, endless divisions have come out of the Church, from Arius to Photius, and from Photius to Luther. Yes, but they all came out. There is the difference. They did not remain in the Church, corrupting the faith. They came out, and ceased to belong to the Catholic unity, as a branch broken from a tree ceases to belong to the tree. But the identity of the tree remains the same. A branch is not a tree, nor a tree a branch. A tree may lose branches, but it rests upon its root, and renews its loss. Not so the religions, so to call them, that have broken away from unity. Not one has retained its members or its doctrines. Once separated from the sustaining unity of the Church, all separations lose their spiritual cohesion, and then their intellectual identity. *Ramus præcisus arescit.*

For the present it is enough to say that no human legislation, authority or constraint can ever create internal unity of intellect and will; and that the diversities and contradictions generated by all human systems prove the absence of Divine authority. Variations or contradictions are proof of the absence of a Divine mission to mankind. All natural causes run to disintegration. Therefore, they can render no account of the world-wide unity of the One Universal Church.

Such, then, are the facts before our eyes at this day. We will seek out the origin of the body or system called the Catholic Church, and pass at once to its outset eighteen hundred years ago.

I affirm, then, three things: (1) First, that no adequate account can be given of this undeniable fact from natural causes; (2) that the history of the Catholic Church demands causes above nature; and (3) that it has always claimed for itself a Divine origin and Divine authority.

I. And, first, before we examine what it was and what it has done, we will recall to mind what was the world in the midst of which it arose.

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The most comprehensive and complete description of the old world, before Christianity came in upon it, is given in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. Mankind had once the knowledge of God : that knowledge was obscured by the passions of sense ; in the darkness of the human intellect, with the light of nature still before them, the nations worshiped the creature—that is, by pantheism, polytheism, idolatry ; and, having lost the knowledge of God and of His perfections, they lost the knowledge of their own nature and of its laws, even of the natural and rational laws, which thenceforward ceased to guide, restrain, or govern them. They became perverted and inverted with every possible abuse, defeating the end and destroying the powers of creation. The lights of nature were put out, and the world rushed headlong into confusions, of which the beasts that perish were innocent. This is analytically the history of all nations but one. A line of light still shone from Adam to Enoch, from Enoch to Abraham, to whom the command was given, "Walk before Me and be perfect." And it ran on from Abraham to Caiaphas, who crucified the founder of Christianity. Through all anthropomorphism of thought and language this line of light still passed inviolate and inviolable. But in the world, on either side of that radiant stream, the whole earth was dark. The intellectual and moral state of the Greek world may be measured in its highest excellence in Athens ; and of the Roman world in Rome. The state of Athens—its private, domestic, and public morality—may be seen in Aristophanes.

The state of Rome is visible in Juvenal, and in the fourth book of St. Augustine's "City of God." There was only one evil wanting. The world was not Atheist. Its polytheism was the example and the warrant of all forms of moral abominations. *Imitari quod colis* plunged the nations in crime. Their theology was their degradation ; their text-book of an elaborate corruption of intellect and will.

Christianity came in "the fullness of time." What that fullness may mean, is one of the mysteries of times and seasons which it is not for us to know. But one motive for the long delay of four thousand years is not far to seek. It gave time, full and ample, for the utmost development and consolidation of all the falsehood and evil of which the intellect and will of man are capable. The four great empires were each of them the concen-

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tration of a supreme effort of human power. The second inherited from the first, the third from both, the fourth from all three. It was, as it was foretold or described, as a beast, "exceeding terrible; his teeth and claws were of iron; he devoured and broke in pieces; and the rest he stamped upon with his feet."* The empire of man over man was never so widespread, so absolute, so hardened into one organized mass, as in Imperial Rome. The world had never seen a military power so disciplined, irresistible, invincible; a legislation so just, so equitable, so strong in its execution; a government so universal, so local, so minute. It seemed to be imperishable. Rome was called the eternal. The religions of all nations were enshrined in Dea Roma; adopted, practiced openly, and taught. They were all *religiones licitæ*, known to the law; not tolerated only, but recognized. The theologies of Egypt, Greece, and of the Latin world, met in an empyreum, consecrated and guarded by the Imperial law, and administered by the Pontifex Maximus. No fanaticism ever surpassed the religious cruelties of Rome. Add to all this the colluvies of false philosophies of every land, and of every date. They both blinded and hardened the intellect of public opinion and of private men against the invasion of anything except contempt, and hatred of both the philosophy of sophists and of the religion of the people. Add to all this the sensuality of the most refined and of the grossest luxury the world had ever seen, and a moral confusion and corruption which violated every law of nature.

The god of this world had built his city. From foundation to parapet, everything that the skill and power of man could do had been done without stint of means or limit of will. The Divine hand was stayed, or rather, as St. Augustine says, an unsurpassed natural greatness was the reward of certain natural virtues, degraded as they were in unnatural abominations. Rome was the climax of the power of man without God, the apotheosis of the human will, the direct and supreme antagonist of God in His own world. In this the fullness of time was come. Man built all this for himself. Certainly, man could not also build the City of God. They are not the work of one and the same architect, who capriciously chose to build first the city of confusion, suspending for a time his skill and power to build some

*Daniel, vii. 19.

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day the City of God. Such a hypothesis is folly. Of two things, one. Disputers must choose one or the other. Both cannot be asserted, and the assertion needs no answer—it refutes itself. So much for the first point.

II. In the reign of Augustus, and in a remote and powerless Oriental race, a Child was born in a stable of a poor Mother. For thirty years He lived a hidden life; for three years He preached the Kingdom of God, and gave laws hitherto unknown to men. He died in ignominy upon the Cross; on the third day He rose again; and after forty days He was seen no more. This unknown Man created the world-wide unity of intellect and will which is visible to the eye, and audible, in all languages, to the ear. It is in harmony with the reason and moral nature of all nations, in all ages, to this day. What proportion is there between the cause and the effect? What power was there in this isolated Man? What unseen virtues went out of Him to change the world? For change the world He did; and that not in the line or on the level of nature as men had corrupted it, but in direct contradiction to all that was then supreme in the world. He taught the dependence of the intellect against its self-trust, the submission of the will against its license, the subjugation of the passions by temperate control or by absolute subjection against their willful indulgence. This was to reverse what men believed to be the laws of nature: to make water climb upward and fire to point downward. He taught mortification of the lusts of the flesh, contempt of the lusts of the eyes, and hatred of the pride of life. What hope was there that such a teacher should convert imperial Rome? that such a doctrine should exorcise the fullness of human pride and lust? Yet so it has come to pass; and how? Twelve men more obscure than Himself, absolutely without authority or influence of this world, preached throughout the empire and beyond it. They asserted two facts: the one, that God had been made man; the other, that He died and rose again. What could be more incredible? To the Jews the unity and spirituality of God were axioms of reason and faith; to the Gentiles, however cultured, the resurrection of the flesh was impossible. The Divine Person Who had died and risen could not be called in evidence as the chief witness. He could not be produced in court. Could anything be more suspicious if credible, or less credible even if He were there to say so? All that they could do was to say, "We knew

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Him for three years, both before His death and after He rose from the dead. If you will believe us, you will believe what we say. If you will not believe us, we can say no more. He is not here, but in heaven. We cannot call Him down." It is true, as we read, that Peter cured a lame man at the gate of the Temple. The Pharisees could not deny it, but they would not believe what Peter said; they only told him to hold his tongue. And yet thousands in one day in Jerusalem believed in the Incarnation and the Resurrection; and when the Apostles were scattered by persecution, wherever they went men believed their word. The most intense persecution was from the Jews, the people of faith and of Divine traditions. In the name of God and of religion they stoned Stephen, and sent Saul to persecute at Damascus. More than this, they stirred up the Romans in every place. As they had forced Pilate to crucify Jesus of Nazareth, so they swore to slay Paul. And yet, in spite of all, the faith spread.

It is true, indeed, that the Empire of Alexander, the spread of the Hellenistic Greek, the prevalence of Greek in Rome itself, the Roman roads which made the Empire traversable, the Roman peace which sheltered the preachers of the faith in the outset of their work, gave them facilities to travel and to be understood. But these were only external facilities, which in no way rendered more credible or more acceptable the voice of penance and mortification, or the mysteries of the faith, which was immutably "to the Jews a stumbling-block and to the Greeks foolishness." It was in changeless opposition to nature as man had marred it; but it was in absolute harmony with nature as God had made it to His own likeness. Its power was its persuasiveness; and its persuasiveness was in its conformity to the highest and noblest aspirations and aims of the soul in man. The master-key so long lost was found at last; and its conformity to the wards of the lock was its irrefragable witness to its own mission and message.

But if it is beyond belief that Christianity in its outset made good its foothold by merely human causes and powers, how much more does this become incredible in every age as we come down from the first century to the nineteenth, and from the Apostolic mission to the world-wide Church, Catholic and Roman, at this day.

Not only did the world in the fullness of its power give to the Christian faith no help to root or to spread itself, but it wreaked

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all the fullness of its power upon it to uproot and to destroy it. Of the first thirty Pontiffs in Rome, twenty-nine were martyred. Ten successive persecutions, or rather one universal and continuous persecution of two hundred years, with ten more bitter excesses of enmity in every province of the Empire, did all that man can do to extinguish the Christian name. The Christian name may be blotted out here and there in blood, but the Christian faith can nowhere be slain. It is inscrutable, and beyond the reach of man. In nothing is the blood of the martyrs more surely the seed of the faith. Every martyrdom was a witness to the faith, and the ten persecutions were the sealing of the work of the twelve Apostles. The destroyer defeated himself. Christ crucified was visibly set forth before all the nations, the world was a Calvary, and the blood of the martyrs preached in every tongue the Passion of Jesus Christ. The world did its worst, and ceased only for weariness and conscious defeat.

Then came the peace, and with peace the peril of the Church. The world outside had failed; the world inside began to work. It no longer destroyed life; it perverted the intellect, and, through intellectual perversion, assailed the faith at its centre. The Angel of light preached heresy. The Baptismal Creed was assailed all along the line; Gnosticism assailed the Father and Creator of all things; Arianism, the God-head of the Son; Nestorianism, the unity of His person; Monophysites, the two natures; Monothelites, the divine and human wills; Macedonians, the person of the Holy Ghost. So throughout the centuries, from Nicæa to the Vatican, every article has been in succession perverted by heresy and defined by the Church. But of this we shall speak hereafter. If the human intellect could fasten its perversions on the Christian faith, it would have done so long ago; and if the Christian faith had been guarded by no more than human intellect, it would long ago have been disintegrated, as we see in every religion outside the unity of the one Catholic Church. There is no example in which fragmentary Christianities have not departed from their original type. No human systemis immutable; no thing human is changeless. The human intellect, therefore, can give no sufficient account of the identity of the Catholic faith in all places and in all ages by any of its own natural processes or powers. The force of this argument is immensely increased when we trace the tradition of the faith through the nineteen Œcumenical Councils

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which, with one continuous intelligence, have guarded and unfolded the deposit of faith, defining every truth as it has been successively assailed, in absolute harmony and unity of progression.

What the Senate is to your great Republic, or the Parliament to our English monarchy, such are the nineteen Councils of the Church, with this only difference: the secular Legislatures must meet year by year with short recesses; Councils have met on the average once in a century. The reason of this is that the mutabilities of national life, which are as the water-floods, need constant remedies; the stability of the Church seldom needs new legislation. The faith needs no definition except in rare intervals of periodical intellectual disorder. The discipline of the Church reigns by an universal common law which seldom needs a change, and by local laws which are provided on the spot. Nevertheless, the legislation of the Church, the *Corpus Juris*, or *Canon Law*, is a creation of wisdom and justice, to which no Statutes at large or Imperial pandects can bear comparison. Human intellect has reached its climax in jurisprudence, but the world-wide and secular legislation of the Church has a higher character. How the Christian law corrected, elevated, and completed the Imperial law, may be seen in a learned and able work by an American author, far from the Catholic faith, but in the main just and accurate in his facts and arguments—the *Gesta Christi* of Charles Loring Brace. Water cannot rise above its source, and if the Church by mere human wisdom corrected and perfected the Imperial law, its source must be higher than the sources of the world. This makes a heavy demand on our credulity.

Starting from St. Peter to Leo XIII., there have been some 258 Pontiffs claiming to be, and recognized by the whole Catholic unity as, successors of St. Peter and Vicars of Jesus Christ. To them has been rendered in every age not only the external obedience of outward submission, but the internal obedience of faith. They have borne the onset of the nations who destroyed Imperial Rome, and the tyranny of heretical Emperors of Byzantium; and, worse than this, the alternate despotism and patronage of Emperors of the West, and the subtraction of obedience in the great Western schisms, when the unity of the Church and the authority of its Head were, as men thought, gone for ever. It was the last assault—the forlorn hope of the gates of hell. Every art of destruction had been tried: martyrdom,

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heresy, secularity, schism; at last, two, and three, and four claimants, or, as the world says, rival Popes, were set up, that men might believe that St. Peter had no longer a successor, and our Lord no Vicar, upon earth; for, though all might be illegitimate, only one could be the lawful and true Head of the Church. Was it only by the human power of man that the unity, external and internal, which for fourteen hundred years had been supreme, was once more restored in the Council of Constance, never to be broken again? The succession of the English monarchy has been, indeed, often broken, and always restored, in these thousand years. But here is a monarchy of eighteen hundred years, powerless in worldly force or support, claiming and receiving not only outward allegiance, but inward unity of intellect and will. If any man tell us that these two phenomena are on the same level of merely human causes, it is too severe a tax upon our natural reason to believe it.

But the inadequacy of human causes to account for the universality, unity, and immutability of the Catholic Church, will stand out more visibly if we look at the intellectual and moral revolution which Christianity has wrought in the world and upon mankind.

The first effect of Christianity was to fill the world with the true knowledge of the One True God, and to destroy utterly all idols, not by fire but by light. Before the Light of the world no false god and no polytheism could stand. The unity and spirituality of God swept away all theogonies and theologies of the first four thousand years. The stream of light which descended from the beginning expanded into a radiance, and the radiance into a flood, which illuminated all nations, as it had been foretold, "The earth is filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the covering waters of the sea;" "And idols shall be utterly destroyed."* In this true knowledge of the Divine Nature was revealed to men their own relation to a Creator as of sons to a father. The Greeks called the chief of the gods *Zeus Pater*, and the Latins *Jupiter;* but neither realized the dependence and love of sonship as revealed by the Founder of Christianity.

The monotheism of the world comes down from a primeval and Divine source. Polytheism is the corruption of men and of nations. Yet in the multiplicity of all polytheisms, one supreme

* Isaias, xi. 9-11, 18.

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Deity was always recognized. The Divine unity was imperishable. Polytheism is of human imagination: it is of men's manufacture. The deification of nature and passions and heroes had filled the world with an elaborate and tenacious superstition, surrounded by reverence, fear, religion, and awe. Every perversion of what is good in man surrounded it with authority; everything that is evil in man guarded it with jealous care. Against this world-wide and imperious demonology the science of one God, all holy and supreme, advanced with resistless force. Beelzebub is not divided against himself; and if polytheism is not Divine, monotheism must be. The overthrow of idolatry and demonology was the mastery of forces that are above nature. This conclusion is enough for our present purpose.

A second visible effect of Christianity of which nature cannot offer any adequate cause is to be found in the domestic life of the Christian world. In some nations the existence of marriage was not so much as recognized. In others, if recognized, it was dishonored by profuse concubinage. Even in Israel, the most advanced nation, the law of divorce was permitted for the hardness of their hearts. Christianity republished the primitive law by which marriage unites only one man and one woman indissolubly in a perpetual contract. It raised their mutual and perpetual contract to a sacrament. This at one blow condemned all other relations between man and woman, all the legal gradations of the Imperial law, and all forms and pleas of divorce. Beyond this the spiritual legislation of the Church framed most elaborate tables of consanguinity and affinity, prohibiting all marriages between persons in certain degrees of kinship or relation. This law has created the purity and peace of domestic life. Neither the Greek nor the Roman world had any true conception of a home. The Ἑστία or Vesta was a sacred tradition guarded by vestals like a temple worship. It was not a law and a power in the homes of the people. Christianity, by enlarging the circles of prohibition within which men and women were as brothers and sisters, has created the home with all its purities and safeguards.

Such a law of unity and indissolubility, encompassed by a multitude of prohibitions, no mere human legislation could impose on the passions and will of mankind. And yet the Imperial laws gradually yielded to its resistless pressure, and incorporated it in its world-wide legislation. The passions and practices of

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four thousand years were against the change; yet it was accomplished, and it reigns inviolate to this day, though the relaxations of schism in the East and the laxities of the West have revived the abuse of divorces, and have partially abolished the wise and salutary prohibitions which guard the homes of the faithful. These relaxations prove that all natural forces have been, and are, hostile to the indissoluble law of Christian marriage. Certainly, then, it was not by natural forces that the Sacrament of Matrimony and the legislation springing from it were enacted. If these are restraints of human liberty and license, either they do not spring from nature, or they have had a supernatural cause whereby they exist. It was this that redeemed woman from the traditional degradation in which the world had held her. The condition of women in Athens and in Rome—which may be taken as the highest points of civilization—is too well known to need recital. Women had no rights, no property, no independence. Plato looked upon them as State property; Aristotle as chattels; the Greeks wrote of them as κύνες, γυναῖκες, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κτήματα. They were the prey, the sport, the slaves of man. Even in Israel, though they were raised incomparably higher than in the Gentile world, they were far below the dignity and authority of Christian women. Libanius, the friend of Julian, the Apostate, said, "O ye gods of Greece, how great are the women of the Christians!" Whence came the elevation of womanhood? Not from the ancient civilization, for it degraded them; not from Israel, for among the Jews the highest state of womanhood was the marriage state. The daughter of Jepthe went into the mountains to mourn not her death but her virginity. The marriage state in the Christian world, though holy and good, is not the highest state. The state of virginity unto death is the highest condition of man and woman. But this is above the law of nature. It belongs to a higher order. And this life of virginity, in repression of natural passion and lawful instinct, is both above and against the tendencies of human nature. It begins in a mortification, and ends in a mastery, over the movements and ordinary laws of human nature. Who will ascribe this to natural causes? and, if so, why did it not appear in the first four thousand years? And when has it ever appeared except in a handful of vestal virgins, or in Oriental recluses, with what

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reality history shows? An exception proves a rule. No one will imagine that a life of chastity is impossible to nature; but the restriction is a repression of nature which individuals may acquire, but the multitude have never attained. A religion which imposes chastity on the unmarried, and upon its priesthood, and upon the multitudes of women in every age who devote themselves to the service of One Whom they have never seen, is a mortification of nature in so high a degree as to stand out as a fact and a phenomenon, of which mere natural causes afford no adequate solution. Its existence, not in a handful out of the millions of the world, but its prevalence and continuity in multitudes scattered throughout the Christian world, proves the presence of a cause higher than the laws of nature. So true is this, that jurists teach that the three vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience are contrary to "the policy of the law," that is, to the interests of the commonwealth, which desires the multiplication, enrichment, and liberty of its members.

To what has been said may be added the change wrought by Christianity upon the social, political, and international relations of the world. The root of this ethical change, private and public, is the Christian home. The authority of parents, the obedience of children, the love of brotherhood, are the three active powers which have raised the society of man above the level of the old world. Israel was head and shoulders above the world around it; but Christendom is high above Israel. The New Commandment of brotherly love, and the Sermon on the Mount, have wrought a revolution, both in private and public life. From this come the laws of justice and sympathy which bind together the nations of the Christian world. In the old world, even the most refined races, worshiped by our modern philosophers, held and taught that man could hold property in man. In its chief cities there were more slaves than free men. Who has taught the equality of men before the law, and extinguished the impious thought that man can hold property in man? It was no philosopher: even Aristotle taught that a slave was ὄργανον ζῶον. It was no lawgiver, for all taught the lawfulness of slavery till Christianity denied it. The Christian law has taught that man can lawfully sell his labor, but that he cannot lawfully be sold, or sell himself.

The necessity of being brief, the impossibility of drawing out

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the picture of the old world, its profound immoralities, its unimaginable cruelties, compels me to argue with my right hand tied behind me. I can do no more than point again to Mr. Brace's "Gesta Christi," or to Dr. Döllinger's "Gentile and Jew," as witnesses to the facts which I have stated or implied. No one who has not read such books, or mastered their contents by original study, can judge of the force of the assertion that Christianity has reformed the world by direct antagonism to the human will, and by a searching and firm repression of human passion. It has ascended the stream of human license, *contra ictum fluminis*, by a power mightier than nature, and by laws of a higher order than the relaxations of this world.

Before Christianity came on earth, the civilization of man by merely natural force had culminated. It could not rise above its source; all that it could do was done; and the civilization in every race and empire had ended in decline and corruption. The old civilization was not regenerated. It passed away to give place to a new. But the new had a higher source, nobler laws and supernatural powers. The highest excellence of men and of nations is the civilization of Christianity. The human race has ascended into what we call Christendom, that is, into the new creation of charity and justice among men. Christendom was created by the world-wide Church as we see it before our eyes at this day. Philosophers and statesmen believe it to be the work of their own hands: they did not make it; but they have for three hundred years been unmaking it by reformations and revolutions. These are destructive forces. They build up nothing. It has been well said by Donoso Cortez that "the history of civilization is the history of Christianity, the history of Christianity is the history of the Church, the history of the Church is the history of the Pontiffs, the greatest statesmen and rulers that the world has ever seen."

Some years ago, a Professor of great literary reputation in England, who was supposed even then to be, as his subsequent writings have proved, a skeptic or non-Christian, published a well-known and very candid book, under the title of "Ecce Homo." The writer placed himself, as it were, outside of Christianity. He took, not the Church in the world as in this article, but the Christian Scriptures as a historical record, to be judged with forensic severity and absolute impartiality of mind. To the

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credit of the author, he fulfilled this pledge; and his conclusion shall here be given. After an examination of the life and character of the Author of Christianity, he proceeded to estimate His teaching and its effects under the following heads.

1. The Christian Legislation.
2. The Christian Republic.
3. Its Universality.
4. The Enthusiasm of Humanity.
5. The Lord's Supper.
6. Positive Morality.
7. Philanthropy.
8. Edification.
9. Mercy.
10. Resentment.
11. Forgiveness.

He then draws his conclusion as follows:

"The achievement of Christ in founding by his single will and power a structure so durable and so universal is like no other achievement which history records. The masterpieces of the men of action are coarse and commonplace in comparison with it, and the masterpieces of speculation flimsy and unsubstantial. When we speak of it the commonplaces of admiration fail us altogether. Shall we speak of the originality of the design, of the skill displayed in the execution? All such terms are inadequate. Originality and contriving skill operate indeed, but, as it were, implicitly. The creative effort which produced that against which it is said the gates of hell shall not prevail cannot be analyzed. No architect's designs were furnished for the New Jerusalem; no committee drew up rules for the universal commonwealth. If in the works of nature we can trace the indications of calculation, of a struggle with difficulties, of precaution, of ingenuity, then in Christ's work it may be that the same indications occur. But these inferior and secondary powers were not consciously exercised; they were implicitly present in the manifold yet single creative act. The inconceivable work was done in calmness; before the eyes of men it was noiselessly accomplished, attracting little attention. Who can describe that which unites men? Who has entered into the formation of speech, which is the symbol of their union? Who can describe exhaustively the origin of civil society? He who can do these things can explain the origin of the Christian Church. For others it must be enough to say, 'The Holy Ghost fell on those that believed.' No man saw the building of the New Jerusalem, the workmen crowded together, the unfinished walls and unpaved streets; no man heard the clink of trowel and pickaxe: 'it descended out of heaven from God.'"*

And yet the writer is, as he was then, still outside of Christianity.

III. We come now to our third point, that Christianity has

* "Ecce Homo," Conclusion, p. 329, Fifth Edition. Macmillan. 1886.

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always claimed a Divine origin and a Divine presence as the source of its authority and powers.

To prove this by texts from the New Testament would be to transcribe the volume; and if the evidence of the whole New Testament were put in, not only might some men deny its weight as evidence, but we should place our whole argument upon a false foundation. Christianity was anterior to the New Testament, and is independent of it. The Christian Scriptures presuppose both the faith and the Church as already existing, known, and believed. *Prior liber quam stylus:* as Tertullian argued. The Gospel was preached before it was written. The four books were written to those who already believed, to confirm their faith. They were written at intervals: St. Matthew in Hebrew in the year 39, in Greek in 45. St. Mark in 43, St. Luke in 57, St. John about 90, in different places and for different motives. Four Gospels did not exist for sixty years, or two generations of men. St. Peter and St. Paul knew of only three of our four. In those sixty years the faith had spread from east to west. Saints and Martyrs had gone up to their crown who never saw a sacred book. The Apostolic Epistles prove the antecedent existence of the Churches to which they were addressed. Rome and Corinth, and Galatia and Ephesus, Philippi and Colossæ, were Churches with pastors and people before St. Paul wrote to them. The Church had already attested and executed its Divine legation before the New Testament existed; and when all its books were written they were not as yet collected into a volume. The earliest collection was about the beginning of the second century, and in the custody of the Church in Rome. We must, therefore, seek to know what was and is Christianity before and outside of the written books; and we have the same evidence for the oral tradition of the faith as we have for the New Testament itself. Both alike were in the custody of the Church; both are delivered to us by the same witness and on the same evidence. To reject either, is logically to reject both. Happily men are not saved by logic, but by faith. The millions of men in all ages have believed by inheritance of truth divinely guarded and delivered to them. They have no need of logical analysis. They have believed from their childhood. Neither children nor those who *infantibus æquiparantur* are logicians. It is the penance of the doubter and the unbeliever to regain by toil his lost inheritance.

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It is a hard penance, like the suffering of those who eternally debate on "predestination, freewill, fate."

Between the death of St. John and the mature lifetime of St. Irenæus fifty years elapsed. St. Polycarp was disciple of St. John, St. Irenæus was disciple of St. Polycarp. The mind of St. John and the mind of St. Irenæus had only one intermediate intelligence, in contact with each. It would be an affectation of minute criticism to treat the doctrine of St. Irenæus as a departure from the doctrine of St. Polycarp, or the doctrine of St. Polycarp as a departure from the doctrine of St. John. Moreover, St. John ruled the Church at Ephesus, and St. Irenæus was born in Asia minor about the year A. D. 120—that is, twenty years after St. John's death, when the Church in Asia Minor was still full of the light of his teaching and of the accents of his voice. Let us see how St. Irenæus describes the faith and the Church. In his work against Heresies, in Book iii. chap. i., he says: "We have known the way of our salvation by those through whom the Gospel came to us; which, indeed, they then preached, but afterwards, by the will of God, delivered to us in Scriptures, the future foundation and pillar of our faith. It is not lawful to say that they preached before they had perfect knowledge, as some dare to affirm, boasting themselves to be correcters of the Apostles. For after our Lord rose from the dead, and when they had been clothed with the power of the Holy Ghost, Who came upon them from on high, they were filled with all truths, and had knowledge which was perfect." In chapter ii. he adds that, "When they are refuted out of Scripture, they turn and accuse the Scriptures as erroneous, unauthoritative, and of various readings, so that the truth cannot be found by those who do not know tradition"—that is, their own. "But when we challenge them to come to the tradition of the Apostles, which is in custody of the succession of Presbyters in the Church, they turn against tradition, saying that they are not only wiser than the Presbyters, but even the Apostles, and have found the truth." "It therefore comes to pass that they will not agree either with the Scriptures or with tradition." (Ibid. c. iii.) "Therefore, all who desire to know the truth ought to look to the tradition of the Apostles, which is manifest in all the world and in all the Church. We are able to count up the Bishops who were instituted in the Church by the Apostles, and their successors to our day. They never taught nor knew such

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things as these men madly assert." "But as it would be too long in such a book as this to enumerate the successions of all the Churches, we point to the tradition of the greatest, most ancient Church, known to all, founded and constituted in Rome by the two glorious Apostles Peter and Paul, and to the faith announced to all men, coming down to us by the succession of Bishops, thereby confounding all those who, in any way, by self-pleasing, or vainglory, or blindness, or an evil mind, teach as they ought not. For with this Church, by reason of its greater principality, it is necessary that all churches should agree; that is, the faithful, wheresoever they be, for in that Church the tradition of the Apostles has been preserved." No comment need be made on the words the "greater principality," which have been perverted by every anti-Catholic writer from the time they were written to this day. But if any one will compare them with the words of St. Paul to the Colossians (chap. i. 18), describing the primacy of the Head of the Church in heaven, it will appear almost certain that the original Greek of S. Irenæus, which is unfortunately lost, contained either τα πρωτεῖα, or some inflection of πρωτεύω which signifies primacy. However this may be, St. Irenæus goes on: "The blessed Apostles, having founded and instructed the Church, gave in charge the Episcopate, for the administration of the same, to Linus. Of this Linus, Paul, in his Epistle to Timothy, makes mention. To him succeeded Anacletus, and after him, in the third place from the Apostles, Clement received the Episcopate, he who saw the Apostles themselves and conferred with them, while as yet he had the preaching of the Apostles in his ears and the tradition before his eyes; and not he only, but many who had been taught by the Apostles still survived. In the time of this Clement, when no little dissension had arisen among the brethren in Corinth, the Church in Rome wrote very powerful letters *potentissimas litteras* to the Corinthians, recalling them to peace, restoring their faith, and declaring the tradition which it had so short a time ago received from the Apostles." These letters of St. Clement are well known, but have lately become more valuable and complete by the discovery of fragments published in a new edition by Lightfoot. In these fragments there is a tone of authority fully explaining the words of St. Irenæus. He then traces the succession of the Bishops of Rome to his own day, and adds: "This demonstration is com-

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plete to show that it is one and the same life-giving faith which has been preserved in the Church from the Apostles until now, and is handed on in truth." "Polycarp was not only taught by the Apostles, and conversed with many of those who had seen our Lord, but he also was constituted by the Apostles in Asia to be Bishop in the Church of Smyrna. We also saw him in our early youth, for he lived long, and when very old departed from this life most gloriously and nobly by martyrdom. He ever taught that what he had learned from the Apostles, and what the Church had delivered, those things only are true." In the fourth chapter, St. Irenæus goes on to say: "Since, then, there are such proofs (of the faith), the truth is no longer to be sought for among others, which it is easy to receive from the Church, forasmuch as the Apostles laid up all truth in fullness in a rich depository, that all who will may receive from it the water of life." "But what if the Apostles had not left us the Scriptures: ought we not to follow the order of tradition, which they gave in charge to them to whom they intrusted the Churches? To which order (of tradition) many barbarous nations yield assent, who believe in Christ without paper and ink, having salvation written by the Spirit in their hearts, and diligently holding the ancient tradition." In the twenty-sixth chapter of the same book he says: "Therefore, it is our duty to obey the Presbyters who are in the Church, who have succession from the Apostles, as we have already shown; who also with the succession of the Episcopate have the *charisma veritatis certum*," the spiritual and certain gift of truth.

I have quoted these passages at length, not so much as proofs of the Catholic Faith as to show the identity of the Church at its outset with the Church before our eyes at this hour, proving that the acorn has grown up into its oak, or, if you will, the identity of the Church at this hour with the Church of the Apostolic mission. These passages show the Episcopate, its central principality, its succession, its custody of the faith, its subsequent reception and guardianship of the Scriptures, its Divine tradition, and the *charisma* or Divine assistance by which its perpetuity is secured in the succession of the Apostles. This is almost verbally, after eighteen hundred years, the decree of the Vatican Council: *Veritatis et fidei nunquam deficientis charisma.**

But St. Irenæus draws out in full the Church of this day. He

* "Const. Dogmatica Prima de Ecclesia Christi," cap. iv.

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shows the parallel of the first creation and of the second; of the first Adam and the Second; and of the analogy between the Incarnation or natural body, and the Church or mystical body of Christ. He says:

Our faith "we received from the Church, and guard . . . . as an excellent gift in a noble vessel, always full of youth, and making youthful the vessel itself in which it is. For this gift of God is intrusted to the Church, as the breath of life (*was imparted*) to the first man, so this end, that all the members partaking of it might be quickened with life. And thus the communication of Christ is imparted; that is, the Holy Ghost, the earnest of incorruption, the confirmation of the faith, the way of ascent to God. For in the Church (St. Paul says) God placed Apostles, Prophets, Doctors, and all other operations of the Spirit, of which none are partakers who do not come to the Church, thereby depriving themselves of life by a perverse mind and worse deeds. For where the Church is, there is also the Spirit of God; and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church, and all grace. But the Spirit is truth. Wherefore, they who do not partake of Him (*the Spirit*), and are not nurtured unto life at the breast of the mother (*the Church*), do not receive of that most pure fountain which proceeds from the Body of Christ, but dig out for themselves broken pools from the trenches of the earth, and drink water soiled with mire, because they turn aside from the faith of the Church lest they should be convicted, and reject the Spirit lest they should be taught."*

Again he says:

"The Church, scattered throughout all the world, even unto the ends of the earth, received from the Apostles and their disciples the faith in one God the Father Almighty, that made the heaven and the earth, and the seas, and all things that are in them," &c.†

He then recites the doctrines of the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, and His coming again to raise all men, to judge men and angels, and to give sentence of condemnation or of life everlasting. How much soever the language may vary from other forms, such is the substance of the Baptismal Creed. He then adds:

* St. Irenæus, *Cont. Hæret.*, lib. iii. cap. xxiv.
† Lib. i. cap. x.

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"The Church having received this preaching and this faith, as we have said before, although it be scattered abroad through the whole world, carefully preserves it, dwelling as in one habitation, and believes alike in these (doctrines) as though she had one soul and the same heart: and in strict accord, as though she had one mouth, proclaims, and teaches, and delivers onward these things. And although there be many diverse languages in the world, yet the power of the tradition is one and the same. And neither do the Churches planted in Germany believe otherwise, or otherwise deliver (the faith), nor those in Iberia, nor among the Celtæ, nor in the East, nor in Egypt, nor in Libya, nor they that are planted in the mainland. But as the sun, which is God's creature, in all the world is one and the same, so also the preaching of the truth shineth everywhere, and lighteneth all men that are willing to come to the knowledge of the truth. And neither will any ruler of the Church, though he be mighty in the utterance of truth, teach otherwise than thus (for no man is above the master), nor will he that is weak in the same diminish from the tradition; for the faith being one and the same, he that is able to say most of it hath nothing over, and he that is able to say least hath no lack."*

To St. Irenæus, then, the Church was "the irrefragable witness of its own legation." When did it cease so to be? It would be easy to multiply quotations from Tertullian in A.D. 200, from St. Cyprian A.D. 250, from St. Augustine and St. Optatus in A.D. 350, from St. Leo in A.D. 450, all of which are on the same traditional lines of faith in a divine mission to the world and of a divine assistance in its discharge. But I refrain from doing so because I should have to write not an article but a folio. Any Catholic theology will give the passages which are now before me; or one such book as the *Loci Theologici* of Melchior Canus will suffice to show the continuity and identity of the tradition of St. Irenæus and the tradition of the Vatican Council, in which the universal church last declared the immutable faith and its own legation to mankind.

The world-wide testimony of the Catholic Church is a sufficient witness to prove the coming of the Incarnate Son to redeem mankind, and to return to His Father; it is also sufficient to prove the advent of the Holy Ghost to abide with us for ever. The

* St. Irenæus, lib. i. c. x.

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work of the Son in this world was accomplished by the Divine acts and facts of His three-and-thirty years of life, death, Resurrection, and Ascension. The office of the Holy Ghost is perpetual, not only as the Illuminator and Sanctifier of all who believe, but also as the Life and Guide of the Church. I may quote now the words of the Founder of the Church: "It is expedient to you that I go: for if I go not, the Paraclete will not come to you; but if I go, I will send Him to you."* "I will ask the Father, and He shall give you another Paraclete, that He may abide with you for ever."† "The Spirit of Truth, Whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth Him not nor knoweth Him; but you shall know Him, because He shall abide with you and shall be in you."‡ St. Paul in the Epistle to the Ephesians describes the Church as a body of which the Head is in heaven, and the Author of its indefectible life abiding in it as His temple. Therefore the words, "He that heareth you heareth Me." This could not be if the witness of the Apostles had been only human. A Divine guidance was attached to the office they bore. They were, therefore, also judges of right and wrong, and teachers by Divine guidance of the truth. But the presence and guidance of the Spirit of Truth is as full at this day as when St. Irenæus wrote. As the Churches then were witnesses, judges, and teachers, so is the Church at this hour a world-wide witness, an unerring judge and teacher, divinely guided and guarded in the truth. It is therefore not only a human and historical, but a Divine witness. This is the chief Divine truth which the last three hundred years have obscured. Modern Christianity believes in the one advent of the Redeemer, but rejects the full and personal advent of the Holy Ghost. And yet the same evidence proves both. The Christianity of reformers always returns to Judaism, because they reject the full, or do not believe the personal, advent of the Holy Ghost. They deny that there is any infallible teacher among men; and therefore they return to the types and shadows of the Law before the Incarnation, when the Head was not yet incarnate, and the Body of Christ did not as yet exist.

But perhaps some one will say, "I admit your description of the Church as it is now and as it was in the days of St. Irenæus;

* St. John, xvi. 7.
† Ibid, xiv. 16.
‡ St. John, xiv. 16, 17

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but the eighteen hundred years of which you have said nothing were ages of declension, disorder, superstition, demoralization." I will answer by a question: was not this foretold? Was not the Church to be a field of wheat and tares growing together till the harvest at the end of the world? There were Cathari of old, and Puritans since, impatient at the patience of God in bearing with the perversities and corruptions of the human intellect and will. The Church, like its Head in heaven, is both human and divine. "He was crucified in weakness," but no power of man could wound His divine nature. So with the Church, which is His Body. Its human element may corrupt and die; its divine life, sanctity, authority, and structure cannot die: nor can the errors of human intellect fasten upon its faith, nor the immoralities of the human will fasten upon its sanctity. Its organization of Head and Body is of divine creation, divinely guarded by the Holy Ghost, who quickens it by His indwelling, and guides it by His light. It is in itself incorrupt and incorruptible in the midst of corruption, as the light of heaven falls upon all the decay and corruption in the world, unsullied and unalterably pure. We are never concerned to deny or to cloak the sins of Christians or of Catholics. They may destroy themselves, but they cannot infect the Church from which they fall. The fall of Lucifer left no stain behind him.

When men accuse the Church of corruption, they reveal the fact that to them the Church is a human institution, of voluntary aggregation or of legislative enactment. They reveal the fact that to them the Church is not an object of Divine faith, as the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar. They do not perceive or will not believe that the articles of the Baptismal Creed are objects of faith, divinely revealed or divinely created. "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints, the forgiveness of sins," are all objects of faith in a Divine order. They are present in human history, but the human element which envelops them has no power to infect or to fasten upon them. Until this is perceived there can be no true or full belief in the advent and office of the Holy Ghost, or in the nature and sacramental action of the Church. It is the visible means and pledge of light and of sanctification to all who do not bar their intellect and their will against its inward and spiritual grace. The Church is not on probation. It is the instrument of probation to

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the world. As the light of the world, it is changeless as the firmament. As the source of sanctification, it is inexhaustible as the River of Life. The human and external history of men calling themselves Christian and Catholic has been at times as degrading and abominable as any adversary is pleased to say. But the sanctity of the Church is no more affected by human sins than was Baptism by the hypocrisy of Simon Magus. The Divine foundation, and office, and mission of the Church is a part of Christianity. They who deny it deny an article of faith; they who believe it imperfectly are the followers of a fragmentary Christianity of modern date. Who can be a disciple of Jesus Christ who does not believe the words? "On this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it;" "As the Father hath sent Me, I also send you;"* "I dispose to you, as My Father hath disposed to Me, a kingdom;"† "All power in heaven and earth is given unto Me. Go, therefore, and teach all nations;"‡ "He that heareth you heareth Me;"§ "I will be with you always, even unto the end of the world;"‖ "When the days of Pentecost were accomplished they were all together in one place: and suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a mighty wind coming, and there appeared to them parted tongues, as it were, of fire;" "And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost;"** "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us to lay upon you no other burdens."†† But who denies that the Apostles claimed a Divine mission? and who can deny that the Catholic and Roman Church from St. Irenæus to Leo XIII. has ever and openly claimed the same, invoking in all its supreme acts as witness, teacher, and legislator the presence, light, and guidance of the Holy Ghost? As the preservation of all created things is by the same creative power produced in perpetual and universal action, so the indefectibility of the Church and of the faith is by the perpetuity of the presence and office of the Third Person of the Holy Trinity. Therefore, St. Augustine calls the day of Pentecost, *Natalis Spiritus Sancti.*

* St. John, xx. 21.
† St. Luke, xxii. 29.
‡ St. Matthew, xxviii. 18, 19.
§ St. Luke, x. 10.
‖ St. Matthew, xxviii. 20.
** Acts, ii. 1–5.
†† Acts, xv. 28.

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It is more than time that I should make an end; and to do so it will be well to sum up the heads of our argument. The Vatican Council declares that the world-wide Church is the irrefragable witness of its own legation or mission to mankind.

In proof of this I have affirmed:

1. That the imperishable existence of Christianity, and the vast and undeniable revolution that it has wrought in men and in nations, in the moral elevation of manhood and of womanhood, and in the domestic, social and political life of the Christian world, cannot be accounted for by any natural causes, or by any forces that are, as philosophers say, *intra possibilitatem naturæ*, within the limits of what is possible to man.

2. That this world-wide and permanent elevation of the Christian world, in comparison with both the old world and the modern world outside of Christianity, demands a cause higher than the possibility of nature.

3. That the Church has always claimed a Divine origin and a Divine office and authority in virtue of a perpetual Divine assistance. To this even the Christian world, in all its fragments external to the Catholic unity, bears witness. It is turned to our reproach. They rebuke us for holding the teaching of the Church to be infallible. We take the rebuke as a testimony of our changeless faith. It is not enough for men to say that they refuse to believe this account of the visible and palpable fact of the imperishable Christianity of the Catholic and Roman Church. They must find a more reasonable, credible, and adequate account for it. This no man has yet done. The denials are many and the solutions are many; but they do not agree together. Their multiplicity is proof of their human origin. The claim of the Catholic Church to a Divine authority and to a Divine assistance is one and the same in every age, and is identical in every place. Error is not the principle of unity, nor truth of variations.

The Church has guarded the doctrine of the Apostles, by Divine assistance, with unerring fidelity. The articles of the faith are to-day the same in number as in the beginning. The explicit definition of their implicit meaning has expanded from age to age, as the everchanging denials and perversions of the world have demanded new definitions of the ancient truth. The world is against all dogma, because it is impatient of definiteness and certainty in faith. It loves open questions and the liberty of

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error. The Church is dogmatic for fear of error. Every truth defined adds to its treasure. It narrows the field of error and enlarges the inheritance of truth. The world and the Church are ever moving in opposite directions. As the world becomes more vague and uncertain, the Church becomes more definite. It moves against wind and tide, against the stress and storm of the world. There was never a more luminous evidence of this supernatural fact than in the Vatican Council. For eight months all that the world could say and do, like the four winds of heaven, was directed upon it. Governments, statesmen, diplomatists, philosophers, intriguers, mockers, and traitors did their utmost and their worst against it. They were in dread lest the Church should declare that by Divine assistance its Head in faith and morals cannot err; for if this be true, man did not found it, man cannot reform it, man cannot teach it to interpret its history or its acts. It knows its own history, and is the supreme witness of its own legation.

I am well aware that I have been writing truisms, and repeating trite and trivial arguments. They are trite because the feet of the faithful for nearly nineteen hundred years have worn them in their daily life; they are trivial because they point to the one path in which the wayfarer, though a fool, shall not err.

HENRY EDWARD,
Card. Archbishop of Westminster.

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THE LAST DAYS OF THE REBELLION.

THE following article, written for the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW a number of years ago, is, I believe, the first and only published contribution ever made by General Sheridan to any periodical, and in view of its value, interest, and merit as a personal record of one of the most vital periods of the War of the Rebellion by one of its foremost soldiers, the paper is now again given to the public for the benefit of many new readers.

In these graphic and sometimes humorous pictures of the closing scenes of the Great Drama and the events which finally turned the tide of battle overwhelmingly against Lee, are furnished fresh proofs of the qualities that gave to Sheridan his title to enduring fame, earned by one of the boldest acts in military history.

ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

PUBLIC attention having of late been occasionally called to some of the events that occurred in the closing scenes of the Virginia campaign, terminating at Appomattox Court-house, April 9, 1865, I feel it my duty to give to history the following facts :

When, April 4, 1865, being at the head of the cavalry, I threw across the line of General Lee's march at Jettersville, on the Richmond and Danville Railroad, my personal escort, the First United States Cavalry, numbering about 200 men, a tall, lank man was seen coming down the road from the direction of Amelia Court-house, riding a small mule and heading toward Burkesville Junction, to which point General Crook had, early that morning, been ordered with his division of cavalry, to break the railroad and telegraph lines. The man and mule were brought to a halt, and the mule and himself closely examined, under strong remon-

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strances at the indignity done to a Southern gentleman. Remonstrance, however, was without avail, and in his boots two telegrams were found from the Commissary-General of Lee's army, saying: "The army is at Amelia Court-house, short of provisions; send 300,000 rations quickly to Burkesville Junction." One of these dispatches was for the Confederate Supply Department at Danville, the other for that at Lynchburg. It was at once presumed that, after the dispatches were written, the telegraph line had been broken by General Crook north of Burkesville, and they were on their way to some station beyond the break, to be telegraphed. They revealed where Lee was, and from them some estimate could also be formed of the number of his troops. Orders were at once given to General Crook to come up the road from Burkesville to Jettersville, and to General Merritt, who, with the other two divisions of cavalry, had followed the road from Petersburg, on the south side of and near the Appomattox River, to close in without delay on Jettersville, while the Fifth Army Corps, under the lamented Griffin, which was about ten or fifteen miles behind, was marched at a quick pace to the same point, and the road in front of Lee's army blocked until the arrival of the balance of the army of the Potomac the afternoon of the next day. My command was pinched for provisions, and these dispatches indicated an opportunity to obtain a supply; so, calling for Lieutenant-Colonel Young, commanding my scouts, four men, in the most approved gray, were selected—good, brave, smart fellows, knowing every cavalry regiment in the Confederate army, and as good "Johnnies" as were in that army, so far as bearing and language were concerned. They were directed to go to Burkesville Junction and there separate. Two were to go down the Lynchburg branch of the railroad until a Confederate telegraph station was found, from which they were to transmit by wire the above-mentioned rebel dispatches, represent the suffering condition of Lee's army, watch for the trains, and hurry the provisions on to Burkesville, or in that direction. The other two were to go on the Danville branch, and had similar instructions. The mission was accomplished by those who went out on the Lynchburg branch, but I am not certain about the success of the other party; at all events, no rations came from Danville that I know of.

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I arrived at Jettersville with the advance of my command—the First United States Cavalry—on the afternoon of the 4th of April. I knew the condition and position of the rebel army from the dispatches referred to, and also from the following letter (erroneously dated April 5), taken from a colored man who was captured later in the day:

"AMELIA C. H., *April* 5, 1865.

"DEAR MAMMA: Our army is ruined, I fear. We are all safe as yet. Shyron left us sick. John Taylor is well; saw him yesterday. We are in line of battle this morning. General Robert Lee is in the field near us. My trust is still in the justice of our cause and that of God. General Hill is killed. I saw Murray a few minutes since. Bernard Terry, he said, was taken prisoner, but may get out. I send this by a negro I see passing up the railroad to Michlenburg. Love to all.

"Your devoted son,

"WM. B. TAYLOR, Colonel."

I accordingly sent out my escort to demonstrate and make as much ado as they could, by continuous firing in front of the enemy at or near Amelia Court-house, pending the arrival of the Fifth Corps. That corps came up in the course of the afternoon, and was put into position at right angles with the Richmond and Danville road, with its left resting on a pond or swamp on the left of the road. Toward evening General Crook arrived with his division of cavalry, and later General Merritt, with his two divisions; and all took their designated places. The Fifth Corps, after its arrival, had thrown up earth-works and made its position strong enough to hold out against any force for the period which would intervene before the arrival of the main body of the army of the Potomac, now rapidly coming up on the lines over which I had traveled.

On the afternoon and night of the 4th, no attack was made by the enemy upon the small force in his front,—the Fifth Corps and three divisions of cavalry,—and by the morning of the 5th, I began to believe that he would leave the main road if he could, and pass around my left flank to Sailor's Creek and Farmville. To watch this suspected movement, early on the morning of the 5th, I sent Davies's brigade of Crook's division of cavalry to make a reconnoissance in that direction. The result was an encounter, by Davies, with a large train of wagons, under escort, moving in the direction anticipated. The train was attacked by him, and about 200 wagons were burned, and five pieces of artillery

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and a large number of prisoners captured. In the afternoon of April 5th, the main body of the army of the Potomac came up. General Meade was unwell and requested me to put the troops in position, which I did, in line of battle, facing the enemy at Amelia Court-house. I thought it best to attack at once, but this was not done. I then began to be afraid the enemy would, in the night, by a march to the right from Amelia Court-house, attempt to pass our left flank and again put us in the rear of his retreating columns. Under this impression I sent to General Grant the following dispatch :

"CAVALRY HEAD-QUARTERS,
"JETTERSVILLE, *April* 5, 1865.—3 P. M.

"Lieutenant-General U. S. GRANT, Commmanding Armies of the United States.

"*General:* I send you the inclosed letter, which will give you an idea of the condition of the enemy and their whereabouts. I sent General Davies's brigade this morning around on my left flank. He captured at Fames's Cross-roads five pieces of artillery, about 200 wagons, and eight or nine battle-flags and a number of prisoners. The Second Army Corps is now coming up. I wish you were here yourself. I feel confident of capturing the army of Northern Virginia, if we exert ourselves. I see no escape for Lee. I will put all my cavalry out on our left flank, except Mackenzie, who is now on the right.

"(Signed) P. H. SHERIDAN, Major-General."

On receipt of this he immediately started for my headquarters at Jettersville, arriving there about 11 o'clock of the night of April 5th. Next morning, April 6th, the infantry of the army advanced on Amelia Court-house. It was found before reaching it that the enemy had turned our left flank and taken another road to Sailor's Creek and Farmville. The cavalry did not advance with the infantry on Amelia Court-house, but moved to the left and rear, at daylight on the morning of the 6th, and struck the moving columns of the enemy's infantry and artillery, with which a series of contests ensued that resulted in the battle of Sailor's Greek, where Lieutenant-General Ewell lost his command of about ten thousand men, and was himself taken prisoner, together with ten other general officers.

We now come to the morning of the 7th. I thought that Lee would not abandon the direct road to Danville through Prince Edward's Court-house, and early on the morning of the 7th, directed General Crook to follow up his rear, while with Merritt (Custer's and Devin's divisions), I swung off to the left, and moved quickly to strike the Danville road six or eight miles

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south of Prince Edward's Court-house, and thus again head or cut off all or some of the retreating Confederate army. On reaching that road, it was found that General Lee's army had not passed, and my command was instantly turned north for Prince Edward's Court-house. A detachment ordered to move with the greatest celerity, via Prince Edward's Court-house, reported that Lee had crossed the Appomattox at and near Farmville, and that Crook had followed him. On looking at the map it will be seen that General Lee would be obliged to pass through Appomattox Court-house and Appomattox station on the railroad, to reach Lynchburg by the road he had taken north of the Appomattox River, and that that was the longest road to get there. He had given the shortest one—the one south of the river—to the cavalry. General Crook was at once sent for, and the three divisions, numbering perhaps at that time 7,000 men, concentrated on the night of the 7th of April at and near Prospect station on the Lynchburg and Richmond Railroad, and Appomattox station became the objective point of the cavalry for the operations of the next day, the 8th.

Meantime my scouts had not been idle, but had followed down the railroad, looking out for the trains with the 300,000 rations which they had telegraphed for on the night of the 4th. Just before reaching Appomattox station, they found five trains of cars feeling their way along in the direction of Burkesville Junction, not knowing exactly where Lee was. They induced the person in charge to come farther on by their description of the pitiable condition of the Confederate troops. Our start on the morning of the 8th was before the sun was up, and having proceeded but a few miles, Major White, of the scouts, reached me with the news that the trains were east of Appomattox station, that he had succeeded in bringing them on some distance, but was afraid that they would again be run back to the station. Intelligence of this fact was immediately communicated to Crook, Merritt, and Custer, and the latter, who had the advance, was urged not to let the trains escape, and I pushed on and joined him. Before reaching the station, Custer detailed two regiments to make a detour, strike the railroad beyond the station, tear up the track and secure the trains. This was accomplished, but on the arrival of the main body of our advance at the station, it was found that the advance-guard of Lee's army

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was just coming on the ground. A sanguinary engagement at once ensued. The enemy was driven off, forty pieces of artillery captured, and four hundred baggage wagons burned. The railroad trains had been secured in the first onset, and were taken possession of by locomotive engineers, soldiers in the command, whose delight at again getting at their former employment was so great that they produced the wildest confusion by running the trains to and fro on the track, and making such an unearthly screeching with the whistles, that I was at one time on the point of ordering the trains burnt; but we finally got them off, and ran them to our rear ten or fifteen miles, to Ord and Gibbon, who with the infantry were following the cavalry. The cavalry continued the fighting nearly all that night, driving the enemy back to the vicinity of Appomattox Court-house, a distance of about four miles, thus giving him no repose, and covering the weakness of the attacking force.

I remember well the little frame-house just south of the station where the headquarters of the cavalry rested, or rather, remained, for there was no rest the night of the 8th. Dispatches were going back to our honored chief, General Grant, and Ord was requested to push on the wearied infantry. To-morrow was to end our troubles in all reasonable probability, but it was thought necessary that the infantry should arrive, in order to doubly insure the result. Merritt, Crook, and Custer were, at times, there. Happiness was in every heart. Our long and weary labors were about to close; our dangers soon to end. There was no sleep; there had been but little for the previous eight or nine days. Before sunrise, General Ord came in reporting the near approach of his command. After a hasty consultation about positions to be taken up by the incoming troops, we were in the saddle and off for the front, in the vicinity of Appomattox Court-house. As we were approaching the village, a heavy line of Confederate infantry was seen advancing, and rapid firing commenced. Riding to a slight elevation, where I could get a view of the advancing enemy, I immediately sent directions to General Merritt for Custer's and Devin's divisions to slowly fall back, and as they did so, to withdraw to our right flank, thus unmasking Ord's and Gibbons's infantry. Crook and Mackenzie, on the extreme left, were ordered to hold fast. I then hastily galloped back to give General Ord the benefit of my

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information. No sooner had the enemy's line of battle reached the elevation from which my reconnoissance had been made, and from whence could be distinctly seen Ord's troops in the distance, than he called a sudden halt, and a retrograde movement began to a ridge about one mile to his rear. Shortly afterward I returned from General Ord to the front, making for General Merritt's battle-flag on the right flank of the line. On reaching it, the order to advance was given, and every guidon was bent to the front, and as we swept by toward the left of the enemy's line of battle, he opened a heavy fire from artillery. No heed was paid to the deadly missiles, and, with the wildest yells, we soon reached a point some distance to his right and nearly opposite Appomattox Court-house. Beyond us, in a low valley, lay Lee and the remnant of his army. There did not appear to be much organization, except in the advanced troops under General Gordon, whom we had been fighting, and a rear-guard under General Longstreet, still further up the valley. Formations were immediately commenced, to make a bold and sweeping charge down the grassy slope, when an aide-de-camp from Custer, filled with excitement, hat in hand, dashed up to me with the message from his chief: "Lee has surrendered! Do not charge; the white flag is up!" Orders were given to complete the formation, but not to charge.

Looking to the left, to Appomattox Court-house, a large group was seen near by the lines of Confederate troops that had fallen back to that point. General Custer had not come back, and, supposing that he was with the group at the Court-house, I moved on a gallop down the narrow ridge, followed by my staff. The Court-house was, perhaps, three-fourths of a mile distant. We had not gone far before a heavy fire was opened on us from a skirt of timber to our right, and distant not much over three hundred yards. I halted for a moment, and taking off my hat, called out that the flag was being violated, but could not stop the firing, which now caused us all to take shelter in a ravine running parallel to the bridge we were on, and down which we then traveled. As we approached the Court-house, a gentle ascent had to be made. I was in advance, followed by a sergeant carrying my battle-flag. Within one hundred to one hundred and fifty yards from the Court-house and Confederate lines, some of the men in their ranks brought down their guns to an aim on

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us, and great effort was made by their officers to keep them from firing. I halted, and hearing some noise behind, turned in the saddle, and saw a Confederate soldier attempting to take my battle-flag from the color-bearer. This the sergeant had no idea of submitting to, and had drawn his saber to cut the man down. A word from me caused him to return his saber, and take the flag back to the staff-officers, who were some little distance behind. I remained stationary a moment after these events, then calling a staff-officer, directed him to go over to the group of Confederate officers, and demand what such conduct meant. Kind apologies were made, and we advanced. The superior officers met were General J. B. Gordon, and General Cadmus M. Wilcox, the latter an old army officer. As soon as the first greeting was over, a furious firing commenced in front of our own cavalry from whom we had only a few minutes before separated. General Gordon seemed to be somewhat disconcerted by it. I remarked to him, "General Gordon, your men fired on me as I was coming over here, and undoubtedly they have done the same to Merritt's and Custer's commands. We might just as well let them fight it out." To this proposition General Gordon did not accede. I then asked, "Why not send a staff-officer and have your people cease firing? They are violating the flag!" He said, "I have no staff-officer to send." I replied, "I will let you have one of mine"; and calling for Lieutenant Vanderbilt Allen, he was directed to report to General Gordon and carry his orders. The orders were to go to General Geary, who was in command of a small brigade of South Carolina cavalry, and ask him to discontinue the firing. Lieutenant Allen dashed off with the message, but, on delivering it to General Geary, was taken prisoner, with the remark from that officer, that he did not care for white flags; that South Carolinians never surrendered.

It was about this time that Merritt, getting impatient at the supposed treacherous firing, ordered a charge of a portion of his command. While Generals Gordon and Wilcox were engaged in conversation with me, a cloud of dust, a wild hurrah, a flashing of sabers, indicated a charge, and the ejaculations of my staff-officers were heard, "Look! Merritt has ordered a charge!" The flight of Geary's brigade followed; Lieutenant Allen was thus released. The last gun had been fired, and the last charge made in the Virginia campaign.

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While the scenes thus related were taking place, the conversation I now speak of was occurring between General Gordon and myself. After the first salutation, General Gordon remarked: "General Lee asks for a suspension of hostilities pending the negotiations which he has been having for the last day and night with General Grant." I rejoined: "I have been constantly informed of the progress of the negotiations, and think it singular that while such negotiations are going on, General Lee should have continued his march and attempted to break through my lines this morning with the view of escaping. I can entertain no terms except the condition that General Lee will surrender to General Grant on his arrival here. I have sent for him. If these terms are not accepted, we will renew hostilities." General Gordon replied: "General Lee's army is exhausted. There is no doubt of his surrender to General Grant on his arrival."

General Wilcox, whom I knew quite well, he having been captain of the company to which I was attached as a cadet at the military academy, then stepped to his horse, and taking hold of the saddle-bags, said, in a jocular way: "Here, Sheridan, take these saddle-bags; they have one soiled shirt and a pair of drawers. You have burned everything else I had in the world, and I think you are entitled to these also." He was alluding, of course, to the destruction of the baggage trains which had been going on for some days.

When the terms above referred to were settled, each army agreed to remain *in statu quo* until the arival of General Grant, whom Colonel Newhall, my adjutant-general, had gone for. Generals Gordon and Wilcox then returned to see General Lee, and promised to come back in about thirty minutes, and during that time General Ord joined me at the court-house. At the end of thirty or forty minutes, General Gordon returned in company with General Longstreet. The latter, who commanded Lee's rear guard back on the Farmville road, seemed somewhat alarmed lest General Meade, who was following up from Farmville, might attack, not knowing the condition of affairs at the front. To prevent this, I proposed to send my chief of staff, General J. W. Forsyth, accompanied by a Confederate officer, back through the Confederate army and inform General Meade of the existing state of affairs. He at once started, accompanied by Colonel Fairfax, of General Longstreet's staff, met the

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advance of the army of the Potomac, and communicated the conditions.

In the meantime, General Lee came over to McLean's house in the village of Appomattox Court-house. I am not certain whether General Babcock, of General Grant's staff, who had arrived in advance of the General, had gone over to see him or not. We had waited some hours, and, I think, about twelve or one o'clock General Grant arrived. General Ord, myself, and many officers were in the main road leading through the town, at a point where Lee's army was visible. General Grant rode up, and greeted me with, "Sheridan, how are you?" I replied, "I am very well, thank you." He then said, "Where is Lee?" I replied, "There is his army down in that valley; he is over in that house (pointing out McLean's), waiting to surrender to you." General Grant, still without dismounting, said, "Come, let us go over." He then made the same request of General Ord, and we all went to McLean's house. Those who entered with General Grant were, as nearly as I can recollect, Ord, Rawlins, Seth Williams, Ingalls, Babcock, Parker, and myself; the staff officers, or those who accompanied, remaining outside on the porch steps and in the yard. On entering the parlor we found General Lee standing in company with Colonel Marshal, his aide-de-camp. The first greeting was to General Seth Williams, who had been Lee's adjutant when he was superintendent of the Military Academy. General Lee was then presented to General Grant, and all present were introduced. General Lee was dressed in a new gray uniform, evidently put on for the occasion, and wore a handsome sword. He had on his face the expression of relief from a heavy burden. General Grant's uniform was soiled with mud and service, and he wore no sword. After a few words had been spoken by those who knew General Lee, all the officers retired, except, perhaps, one staff officer of General Grant and the one who was with General Lee. We had not been absent from the room longer than about five minutes when General Babcock came to the door and said, "The surrender has taken place—you can come in again."

When we re-entered, General Grant was writing on a little wooden elliptical-shaped table (purchased by me from Mr. McLean and presented to Mrs. G. A. Custer) the conditions of the surrender. General Lee was sitting, his hands resting on the hilt of his sword, to the left of General Grant, with his back to a

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small marble-topped table, on which many books were piled. While General Grant was writing, friendly conversation was engaged in by General Lee and his aid with the officers present, and he took from his breast-pocket two dispatches, which had been sent to him by me during the forenoon, notifying him that some of his cavalry in front of Crook were violating the agreement entered into by withdrawing. I had not had time to make copies when they were sent and had made a request to have them returned. He handed them to me with the remark, "I am sorry. It is possible my cavalry at that point of the line did not fully understand the agreement."

About one hour was occupied in drawing up and signing the terms, when General Lee retired from the house with a cordial shake of the hand with General Grant, mounted his chunky, gray horse, and lifting his hat, passed through the gate, and rode over the crest of the hill to his army. On his arrival there, we heard wild cheering, which seemed to be taken up progressively by his troops, either for him, or because of satisfaction with his last official act as a soldier.

P. H. SHERIDAN.

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IRISH COMMENTS ON AN ENGLISH TEXT.

"The only time England can use an Irishman is when he emigrates to America and votes for free trade."—London Times.

THE hatred of the Irish people for England, due to seven centuries of unparalleled oppression, has produced notable effects in the history of more countries than the two most interested. It has more than once been a factor in deciding the policy of great nations, and many decisive battles have been won by the vengeful valor it inspired. And yet its influence is generally exaggerated, both by too enthusiastic Irishmen and by English statesmen who cannot always see beneath the surface.

"In whatever corner of the world you find an Irishman, there you find an enemy of England," is a saying that has passed into a proverb. It is a common boast among Irish Nationalists; English statesmen and writers make it a subject of frequent complaint. But, like most other assertions of a sweeping character, there is both truth and falsehood in it. Leaving the Irish loyalists out of account, it is true of the remainder, who are the vast majority, only in a limited sense. Strictly speaking, in fact, it is only true where there is a case of actual war between the country where the Irishman resides and England. And even in war it is not always true when the man is found on British territory.

Two thousand Wexford rebels formed the flower of Abercrombie's army which drove the French out of Egypt. The Light Division, which wrought such havoc among the French during the Peninsular War, was very largely Irish, and regiments composed exclusively of Irishmen contributed largely to the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo. And all this time fervent prayers went up

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to heaven from every cabin in Ireland for Bonaparte's success, and Ireland's interests were clearly on the side of England's defeat.

While all Ireland was looking anxiously for news of a Russian victory in the Crimea, and Irish patriots in America were seeking Muscovite aid for an uprising in the old land, the Eighteenth Royal Irish, by a desperate charge, captured an outwork of the Redan and retrieved the credit of that disastrous day for England. To-day, when Ireland and England are engaged in a desperate struggle in which the interests of the peasant class are more deeply involved than in any previous contest, and when the Irish race throughout the world is practically united, twelve thousand Irish peasants' sons in England's pay constitute the force which is the instrument used to do the most effective work against the people's cause.

But soldiers and policemen, it will be said, are not thinkers. Driven by adverse circumstances into England's service, they become part of a machine, and discipline and the excitement and provocation of battle bring out their natural fighting qualities. But how is it here in America? Do men of Irish birth or descent in this country do anything to aid England's cherished policy or render her any real service? Is it true that "the only time England can use an Irishman is when he emigrates to America and votes for free trade"?

The statement as put in the quotation is not true, as the foregoing statements have shown, but it is nevertheless only too true that the great majority of Irishmen in this country have, for some years at least, been doing England's work without intending it or knowing they were doing it. This is true, not alone in regard to the question of free trade, but also in the case of other important questions. But for Irish votes—the votes of men whose hatred of England and her policy is deep and ineradicable—the English demand for free trade would not be met by the desperate efforts of the Cleveland administration to reduce the tariff, for Mr. Cleveland would not be President. If those efforts succeed the very Irishmen responsible for it will be among the first victims. The first effect of the success of Cleveland's free-trade policy will be the immediate reduction of wages, and as the vast majority of Irish citizens belong to the wage-earning class they will be among the first sacrifices offered up to English greed. Their relatives in Ire-

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land largely dependent on trans-Atlantic aid in one of the most trying hours of their unfortunate history, will be left powerless and helpless at the feet of the Coercionist Government. England at one blow will thus impoverish her Irish enemies in America and paralyze the arm of patriotism in Ireland.

But for the same Irish votes and the recreancy of Irish politicians guided only by sordid personal interests, or cowed by threats of political ostracism, the most serious danger that has threatened the Irish national cause for many years would not now menace it. If the extradition treaty should pass the Senate, there is not an act of resistance to tyranny classed as a crime by an infamous coercion act that cannot be brought under its provisions, and England's heavy hand can be laid on the Irish exile in this country in the crowded city of the East, on the Western prairie, or in the depths of the Rocky Mountain mine. Coercion would be brought to the very door of the Irish citizen of the United States, and he would have the melancholy satisfaction of knowing that his own vote contributed largely to bring about that extraordinary state of things.

But for Irish votes the Fisheries treaty, the weakest surrender of American rights that ever disgraced American diplomacy, would not have been conceded to enable the most virulent, the meanest and most treacherous enemy of Ireland among living Englishmen to return home with an increase of power and prestige to be used for the injury of the cause which those who cast those votes hold dear.

It is evident, therefore, that the assertion that "the only use England can make of an Irishman is when he emigrates to America and votes for free trade," is only half a truth. England finds many other uses for him, and they include the whole line of English policy in this country, of which Mr. Cleveland's administration is the exponent and the chief instrument. But did the Irish voters who are responsible for this state of things deliberately contemplate such a result, and will they continue to play the rôle of cat's-paw for England? Most assuredly they did not contemplate it, and it becomes every day more probable that they will contribute very largely to the correction of the evil. Many thousands of Irish citizens revolted against the pro-British policy four years ago, and their numbers will be swelled by large accessions this year. As the issue becomes more clearly defined, they will be

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found among the most enthusiastic supporters of the broad American policy represented by the present Republican Presidential candidate, and those who adhere to old party lines will help to reinfuse a truly American spirit into the Democracy.

The issue of Free Trade and Protection was never clearly presented to Irish citizens of the present generation before. The broad and comprehensive foreign policy that they are led to expect from the election of Mr. Harrison they first saw outlined in the dispatches of Mr. Blaine, and it at once attracted many thousands of them, not, as the Mugwumps charge, that they expected it to eventuate in war with England, but because they believed it promised many benefits to the land in which their lot was cast. Republican administrations, from Grant's to that of Arthur, had not a foreign policy to attract them, and Irish-American citizens in England were allowed to be outraged without even a protest. On the other hand, the Democratic administrations before the war had acted with commendable spirit and promptitude in such emergencies, and it was natural for lifelong Democrats to expect adherence to party traditions as a result of a Democratic triumph. They did not realize that parties, as well as men, had changed—they were not even aware of the change they themselves had undergone—and they did not understand, as few other men did, the logical development of the tendencies given to both parties by the result of the war.

These things are beginning to dawn upon Irish citizens now, and the next few years will witness an enormous and a permanent change in their attitude towards the two great parties that struggle for the mastery of the Republic.

During the war it was England's policy to break up the Union. Not from love of the Southern people, but from hatred and fear of Democratic institutions and a desire to create a great market for her wares, the English aristocracy and mercantile classes wished to see the Southern oligarchy build up a great slave confederacy that would manufacture nothing. They aided it all they dared. While Irish Democratic soldiers flocked to the defense of the Union, the voice of Ireland rang out from crowded mass meetings, sending sympathy to the North, and warning England to keep her hands off.

To-day, when the industrial life of the Republic is menaced by a combination of the same hostile forces, enough of Irish citizens

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will be found to sever old party ties and rush to the defense of the country's true interests to place them out of danger for a generation, if not forever. They recognize that America's interests are their own, and that hatred of England and love of their adopted country unite for once in urging them to strong and vigorous action.

After next November, England will find very little use for an Irishman in America, the American people will respect him more than ever, and every European potentate, from the Czar of Russia to the Pope in Rome, will know that he is not a thing to be trifled with. In short, the status of the Irishman will be raised in America, and England's hope of crushing him in Ireland will vanish into thin air.

JOHN DEVOY.

IT is true that Irishmen are not as useful to England as they have been. They cannot be relied on to carry England's flag over the parapets of war as enthusiastically as of yore. They bait the masters in Parliament who have been baiting them. And, crime of crimes, they are not as useful in starving themselves to pay rent to Englishmen of older or of later birth as was their wont up to a decade ago. But their lack of usefulness does not end there. It was the custom of the Irish when they emigrated hither to scrape and save in the Land of the Free to help those left behind to pay the otherwise impossible rents. Then, indeed, an emigrating Irishman was useful. He worked here under blazing sun or in snow and rain for "the little tyrant of his fields" in Ireland. Instead of this, the once useful Irish emigrant now furnishes funds to harry the English landlords year in and year out. He watches every move of English diplomacy and delights in setting his foot upon its neck when it serpentines near him. The *London Times* trusts that a remnant of the old usefulness may survive in the emigrated Irishman voting for free trade in America.

It is a vain hope. It was written, if we may guess at the foggy penetralia of the writer's misapprehensions, under the idea that the issue of the present presidential campaign was, what it is not, namely, between a total extinction of the protective tariff and keeping the tariff where it is.

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The question is actually limited in this campaign to the extent to which the tariff should be modified as a means of reducing the surplus revenue of the federal government. The Democrats propose to cut off the surplus, partly by a reduction of the custom dues, so scaled they claim as not to endanger the country's industries, and partly by a reduction of the internal revenue. The Republican plan is to lower the tariff, but more sparingly than the Democrats, and to make a correspondingly larger cut in the internal revenue, even to sweeping it away altogether if necessary. There is no grave risk to American industry, no usefulness to England in either scheme.

For my part I see more good in a moderate reduction of the tariff and a great benefit in reducing the Internal Revenue which taxes commerce between the States.

As to specific schemes for dealing with the surplus I prefer Mr. Randall's to that of Mr. Mills. As the Republican Senate measure has not been made known at this writing, I cannot judge of it. All the tariff measures submitted or likely to be submitted will be found to recognize the protective factor as necessary to be preserved.

American manufactures are to be fostered or protected for the good of the entire nation, and not merely for the manufacturer who gets the profits, nor alone for the workmen or workwomen he employs at the lowest rate he can get them to work for. Variety of industry is what makes a nation truly self-sustaining. The protective tariff has undoubtedly helped and is helping to make in this respect our national life complete.

England reared her industries on Protection. She reached what she calls "free trade" out of her necessities. She could not feed her manufacturing population cheaply and she repealed the corn laws or tariff on breadstuffs. The empty English stomach cried out, and England has ever since made a virtue of filling it. Characteristic of English cunning overlaid by English egotism it is to do this, and it is the top and bottom of her free trade "philosophy." Foxlike, having cut off her own no longer useful tail of a tariff, she urges every other nation to do the same. Our tariff is still needed to keep off flies, withal.

No American party could hope to live which would attempt to uproot at this juncture the present system, which has answered its purpose so well, and no party is attempting it. To modify it so

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as to fit it to the growing wealth of the country is a task worthy of the highest statesmanship.

It is, however, not the Treasury surplus only which menaces the present tariff. The trusts, those aggregations of the capital in entire industries, combined for the purpose of raising prices and doubtless of lowering wages, attack it on one hand. The migration hither of European labor of the cheapest kind attacks it on the other, for all the factors which drive wages downward, as they have been going down, will tend to make a high tariff a burden. In proportion as it is a burden it must be lowered, and the reduction under such circumstances will help no outside nation whatever. It will not be useful to England.

More and more labor is coming to America. Our great country will attract an enormous immigration for a hundred years to come. As it absorbed millions of Irish and German, it is absorbing Swedish, Italian, Bohemian, Hungarian, Russian and Polish millions, and will continue to absorb them. It will draw and is drawing the best workers from England itself.

A spirit of hostility to the later European immigrants has given rise to an outcry against "pauper labor" coming here. I do not join in it. I respect all labor. Irish labor in America was once branded as the labor of paupers; so Italian, Bohemian and Polish labor is to-day. These later comers will progress. The country lifts its laborers up as no other country in the world does. Every working arm and brain added to our population adds to our potentiality of controlling the markets of the world in all things which the country will produce. And this is America's commercial destiny.

Before arriving at that stage of power, a long battle will have been fought with our commercial rivals, of which England is the greatest; but they will go down one by one before the ever-growing industrial might of America. It will not be the victory of to-day or to-morrow, and it involves many now obscure and complex factors; but one sign by which we shall know when the time for a sweeping tariff reduction is at hand for us will be the imposition by England of import duties on our manufactures to save her own from utter extinction. The "fair-trader" of to-day in England is the forerunner of the English "high-tariff man" of hereafter, and he is coming.

England has been and will be in language and race the sister,

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but in commerce and politics the foe of America. Her coal and iron coming out of the earth almost side by side make her the most compact industrial force of her size in the world. But her limit is definite, and her commercial overthrow will awaken no pity—incarnation of selfishness and greed as she has been.

She robbed and misgoverned Ireland to preserve its land to her aristocrats and its commerce to the English trading class. Every Englishman from the king to the peer, from the bishop to the beer seller, was pecuniarily interested in Ireland's misgovernment—the king for his revenues, the peer for his rents, his offspring for the fat offices, the bishop for his tithes, the parson for his fat livings, the trader for his monopoly. Had America remained a colony, such would be the relation of Englishmen to her to-day. Unshackled and free of this hierarchy of tribute-takers, America has grown to be England's competitor and will presently be her master.

Irishmen here will be Americans in the struggle. England has taught Irishmen to hate her by oppressing them, and by hating them even when she could no longer oppress. If, as now seems probable, England, urged thereto by men of broad minds and deep sympathies, should give Ireland a fair measure of self-government to the strengthening and solidifying of the British Empire, this hatred will disappear from Ireland as it dies out in England, and will be as sensibly modified among the free Irishmen in America. But whether justice is done to Ireland or not, the commercial conflict between England and America must go on. It has no sentiment in it. Irishmen here may be expected to see as clearly as others, in any event, what is good for America and what would be "useful" to England.

The Irish-born citizen will now vote for the tariff. When the time is ripe for it, he, in common with the rest of the American nation, will vote for free trade, and then that will be to vote the commercial death of England. If that will be "useful," England is welcome to it. The London *Times*, which on the Irish question presents the unpleasant spectacle of a blind worm turning in its own outgivings, is welcome to it.

If I have traveled over-wide in accounting for the faith that is in me in this matter, it is because as an American citizen I cannot close my eyes to all the facts as they appear to me, though perhaps some may expect me as an Irishman to settle the question off-

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hand in sheer revolt of feeling against the cynical malevolence of an ignorant Englishman.

JOSEPH I. C. CLARKE.

WELL, no. "When an Irishman emigrates to America and votes for free trade" it is not "the *only* time England can use him." The other time is when he does *not* emigrate, is, by English free trade, compelled to "stand and deliver" all that he can produce; is left without the chance of a career, often without the means of existence, in Ireland; and is forced to prostitute labor, skill, courage or genius, sometimes his life, in building up a power that while robbing proclaims him a worthless savage, she has during these centuries, out of the goodness of her heart, been laboring, almost hopelessly, to civilize.

A very long time that other time has been. With the exception of the few happy years during which Grattan's Parliament and Volunteers prevented British free trade in his countrymen's lives and property, it has, in the main, continued from the day England first found herself able to impose her "system of economy" or robbery on Ireland at the cannon's mouth. It exists to-day, and will continue to exist, Mr. Parnell's agitation, all other agitations, Mr. Gladstone's proposed so-called parliament, and all such toy parliaments to the contrary, notwithstanding, until some such crisis in English affairs as will follow the advance of Russia Indiawards, or the continuance by America of the protective tariff, affords armed Irishmen, under some Phil Sheridan, their "opportunity" to get the British Government, bayonets and free trade, "bag and baggage," out of Ireland at once and forever. Then, and not till then, finding occupation and an honorable career at home, can Irishmen prevent England from using them.

It would require volumes, instead of a brief article, to recount the uses she has made of those hundreds of thousands of Irishmen, who, starved by her policy from home, have been forced into her blue jacket or red coat, to follow her drumbeat around the world, in her numberless plundering, marauding and robbing expeditions against unoffending and defenceless countries, tribes and peoples, as well as in her deadlier conflicts with her equals in war. Those who, from actual experience in the camp, march or battle-field, are familiar with the qualities of the Irish soldier, need not be told to

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what uses he can be put. And, when we consider that, according to Major Butler, of the British army, the proportion of Irishmen in it, during its most eventful period, rose to sixty-six per cent., we may well ask, What would England have been without them? What would her history in Canada have been had it not been Wolfe who met Montcalm on the Heights of Abraham? How different might have been her place on the maps of Europe, Asia, and Africa without the services of the Lawrences, the Napiers, the Goughs, and the Roberts. What, to-day, might have been her place among the nations had it been other than Wellington and his countrymen, who, with their fellow Celts, the Highlanders, withstood the legions of the Great Corsican until the coming of Blucher on that fateful day at Waterloo.

In cabinet, parliament, and diplomacy she has made frequent enough use of the countrymen of Burke, Sheridan, Palmerston, and Dufferin. In literature how often do we find Steele, Sheridan, and Goldsmith doing duty as "English" authors. In her halls of learning, journalism, marts of commerce, workshops, and great industries, Irishmen in great numbers labor, to her gain and the loss of their native land. The tourist sees at every port in Ireland steamers laden with cattle and produce for England, and wonders why a country that produces so much is always poor and often starving. The explanation is—Through free trade England takes all the peasant produces, beyond a bare existence, and keeps him a helot. The Nationalist objects to the use she has made of the noblest of his race, of the hangings, burnings, pitch-capping, banishment, and imprisonment to which she had subjected the Father Sheehys, Wm. Orrs, Wolf Tones, Emmets, Mitchells, Meaghers, Kirkhans, O'Learys, and others who sought to end her blighting sway in Ireland. Everything goes out of Ireland, and nothing is returned. Her intellect, skill, energy, and resources are drained away to support England, without even acknowledgment. Against all this the Nationalist protests, and, further, demurs at being hanged for mentioning the matter and its remedy to his countrymen. All these uses has she been able to make of Irishmen through free trade, for be it known that the crime of England against Ireland has been the destruction of her industries. Compared with this the baneful effects of her wars, massacres, and penal laws upon the national life have been transient and ephemeral.

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Over one hundred years ago Hely Hutchinson, an Irish Tory gentleman, founder of the House of Donoughmore, wrote a series of letters to His Britannic Majesty's Government on "The Commercial Restraints of Ireland." In direct and dignified, though respectful language, they point out how one after the other of Irish industries, the linen trade excepted, had been destroyed by English laws, and asks for their repeal. The book was bought up by the Government, as high as a thousand pounds sterling being paid for a copy, and burned. A copy of it, however, still exists in the Stephen Calwell Library of the University of Pennsylvania, and would afford instructive reading to those Irish-Americans who propose to vote for the English policy against the country to which they have fled.

It is needless to say that the obnoxious laws were not repealed until, in 1782, an independent Irish Parliament, supported by Henry Grattan's Volunteers and Napper Tandy's artillery, enacted protective tariff laws for the revival of Irish manufactures. The movement of Grattan, like the beginning of the American Revolution, was a revolt against the no longer endurable restraints of British free trade.

During her eighteen years of protection, Ireland enjoyed a period of unexampled prosperity, and advanced in manufactures more rapidly than any other country in Europe.

To-day the tourist in Dublin lingers to admire the magnificent public and private buildings, now mostly vacant, that during that glorious era arose under the magical influence of protection.

But the spoiler prevailed. In 1800, British gold and bayonets carried, through a corrupted Parliament, the dreaded "Act of Union." Irish independence and manufactures fell at one blow. The great patriot and statesman who raised could no longer protect them. He had "stood by their cradle," he now "followed their bier." English free trade could now work its wont—factories closing, owners bankrupt, workmen flying, ruin everywhere, is the story from that day to this.

This much for the uses England has made of Irishmen elsewhere. We are not disposed to underestimate the value, to her, of Irish votes, for free trade, in America, in the past. We cannot overestimate their importance to her, in the future, in the combined attack she and the successors of the slave-holding oligarchy are now making upon the educated labor and industrial indepen-

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dence of these States. The supplying of works of handicraft to over sixty millions of people now here, and others to come; the destruction of a great and rising rival, who, by superior skill and fair dealing, will soon drive her from the markets of the two Americas; the continued existence of the, as present constituted, British Empire, which, resting upon, must go down with the loss of manufacturing and commercial supremacy—these are the colossal prizes for which she contends, these the nuts she expects to get out of the fire, by the use of her favorite cat's-paw, the Irish-American vote, when she modestly asks her *professed* enemies to elect to the Presidency the man who declares: "I believe in free trade, as I believe in the Protestant religion."

Will they do it? We think not.

Like that intense Irish Nationalist, the greatest of political economists, whose works are revolutionizing the world, Henry C. Carey, son of the great United Irishman, Matthew Carey, friend of Washington and Lafayette, and co-laborer with Grattan, Irishmen in increased and increasing numbers are learning to be "always opposed to England, and therefore always right."

The subjoined extracts are from the Irish-American memorial presented to the recent convention that nominated General Harrison: "Believing that the good of our native can be best promoted by the greatness of our adopted country, and that its greatness will come through the success of the Republican party, under a leader worthy of the high office, an American of Americans, pledged only to the support of American principles, we are convinced that a larger number of our countrymen than ever before will labor with enthusiasm to carry to victory the standard of that party over the first national convention of which Judge Robert Emmet presided."

WILLIAM CARROLL, M.D.

THE above, like most statements of the London *Times* concerning Ireland and Irishmen, is not true. Unfortunately the Irish in their native land have been only too often used by England, and they have been among the most pliant instruments of British oppression in Ireland. The hated constabulary is mainly composed of Irishmen, while the paid magistracy, the judges and the various officers of the Crown, are drawn largely from the

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native element. It is true that these Government employés are renegade Irishmen, and that the higher officials are for the most part alien in race, religion and sentiment to the overwhelming majority of the people ; but the facts are enough to disprove the statement that the *only* time England can use an Irishman is under the circumstances mentioned by the *Times*. However, considering the demoralizing system of bribes and corruption—unparalleled in history—which has been so marked a feature of English rule in Ireland, the only wonder is that a larger proportion of the people has not succumbed to the blandishments of the seducer.

As regards England's "use" of the Irish in America, it is undeniable that a large proportion of the latter have been and still are, unwittingly, no doubt, the tools of England. In so far as Irishmen in this country have supported the free-trade policy of the Democratic party, they have been virtually the allies and friends of England. Having lost her foothold in the European marts, and with Russia closely pushing her in the East, England turns wistfully to America in the hope of securing here a market for the disposal of her wares. Free trade would give her the coveted prize. There is no lack of evidence to show that one of England's most cherished desires is the triumph of the free-trade policy in the United States. The unanimous approval with which the English press of all shades of political opinion has hailed every free trade manifestation in the United States, such as the President's December message, the Mills bill and the Democratic national platform, speaks conclusively on this point. Neither have the English newspapers been backward in pointing out that the adoption of a free-trade policy by the United States would give English manufacturers and English trade such a boom as they have not received during the present century.

Now it may be asked, Why cannot Irish-Americans see that by supporting the Democratic free-trade policy they are being used to further the interests of English manufacturers and English workmen, and that, too, to the sacrifice of the interests of American industries and American labor ? This anomaly is easily explained. Until within a few years past almost the entire body of Irish voters were included in the Democratic party. How this came to be the case is well known to the student of American political history. It was the result of circumstances which every

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fair-minded man will now readily admit were beyond the control of the Republican party, and for which the Republican party, as a party, was not responsible. Indeed, it is a fact that in the days of Know-nothingism, which unscrupulous Democrats have persistently represented as the offspring of Republicanism, there were far more members of that intolerant and un-American party drawn from the ranks of the Democracy than there were from the Republican ranks. The fact remains, however, that owing to a combination of circumstances which were entirely misunderstood by the Irish, the latter were almost in a body attracted to the Democratic party, and were in a similar degree repelled by the Republican party. The consequence was that the Democrats came to be regarded by Irishmen as their friends and the Republicans as their enemies, and a large number of Irish voters have ever since been too ready to accept unquestioningly the policy of the former party on any issue that might arise.

The Democratic party has been, moreover, glaringly disingenuous, inconsistent and even dishonest in regard to its attitude on the tariff. One time its leaders and party organs will loudly contend that the Democratic policy in regard to the tariff is one not of destruction, but of revision, and they make this contention in face of the fact that the party has for years been endeavoring to bring about, in a more or less direct way, an economic policy which even the members of the Cobden Club and the press of Free Trade England—who certainly ought to be good judges in such matters—characterize as free trade. At another time, when the above course would not be expedient, a virtually free-trade policy is openly espoused, while protection is denounced as the bane of the farmers. One story will be told to the wage-earners of the great manufacturing States, while a contrary story will be rehearsed to the people of the non-manufacturing districts of the South. This chameleon-like policy is beautifully illustrated in the glaring inconsistencies of the Mills bill. The Free Traders have thus succeeded in throwing dust in the eyes of many Democrats, Irish-Americans included. And to disarm any possible fears the latter might have lest England, the hereditary enemy of their native land, might be the principal beneficiary under the new economic system, it is always made to appear that such fears are utterly groundless, and that what in fact England most dreads is lest there should be a departure from the present protective policy?

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These tactics have to a certain extent succeeded. But, on the other hand, the number of Irish-Americans who see the situation in its true light is increasing daily. It is safe to affirm that a large majority of the Irishmen who do their own thinking, and will not suffer others to do it for them, and who have, besides, no political axes to grind, have finally shaken off the yoke of the party bosses. The solid Irish-Democratic vote has been broken up forever, a result fraught with good to the country at large, and to none more so than Irish-Americans themselves. The wisest and best Irishmen among us, men not identified with either party, such as the thoughtful and learned Rev. Dr. Bernard O'Reilly, have hailed with joy this self-emancipating movement on the part of their countrymen. I think I can safely put the number of Irishmen in this State alone who have cut loose from their political bondage in the Democratic party as not less than one hundred thousand. It is needless to say that those voters cannot be used in the interests of England.

It is, however, a great mistake, and does Irish-Americans a gross injustice, to say that, as a body, their attitude in regard to a question like that of the tariff is governed solely or principally by the bearing of such question on English interests. Such is not the case. Irish-Americans in all matters pertaining to America are American citizens pure and simple, looking at American public questions from the standpoint of Americans, and joining faithfully and fraternally with their fellow citizens of all origins in furthering the interests of the Republic. Irish-Americans, while retaining their love for their native land, surely need not, and will not, on that account abate one jot or tittle of their Americanism. The *primary* objection of Irish-Americans to free trade is *not* that it would benefit their old enemy England—though this result would be wormwood and gall to them—but that it would injure America. And they favor the continuance of the protective system, *not* because it shuts out English goods from the American markets, though this result is most gratifying to them, but because it safeguards our own industries and the interests of our own workingmen. Intelligent Irish-Americans know that by voting against free trade they are not only serving the interests of the Republic but striking a most effective blow at England, and no true American will complain that they enjoy their sweet revenge on the heredi-

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tary enemy of both nations. Indeed, even a casual reader of the American press will see that in the present campaign Americans are scarcely one whit behind their Irish fellow-citizens in their hostility to England, and free trade is as roundly denounced by them because of the advantages it would confer on England as because of the injury it would inflict on America. This is only natural. England is the hereditary foe of America as well as of Ireland. Since the Colonies threw off the British yoke England has made two desperate attempts to destroy the Republic—once in 1812, and again, in a far more treacherous and dastardly manner, during our Civil War. As a participant in the latter, I well remember the fierce indignation of our soldiers when gathering up on the battle-field the arms of the Confederate dead, at finding the weapons, in hundreds of cases, bearing the stamp of the British Crown. The first hostile shot fired on Sumter was from a gun forged in England. The "Alabama" and "Shenandoah," which inflicted upon American shipping a blow from which it has not yet recovered, were built in British shipyards, and in part manned by British seamen, with the avowed object of destroying our mercantile marine. Why, America has little less reason than Ireland to hate England, the deadly foe of both nations.

England is just now engaged in a third attempt to cripple the Republic by aiding the Free Traders to bring about an economic policy which would first destroy our industrial prosperity. I agree with the sentiments expressed on the floor of the United States Senate by that fearless and aggressive advocate of American principles, Senator Riddleberger, viz., that "we will never be a free nation until we have whipped England for the third time." Now, we have already whipped England twice and the opportunity to administer a third drubbing will be presented this fall. This opportunity will be eagerly seized, especially by Irishmen, and although the instrument of castigation this time will be the ballot instead of the bullet, it will be found mighty effectual. Irishmen do not often get a chance to wipe out old scores with England, and, therefore, I feel satisfied that they will make the most of the present opportunity, and that thousands of Irish Democrats, throwing party obligations to the winds, will unite with their Irish Republican brothers in inflicting condign punishment upon the hated oppressor of their motherland.

M. IERWIN.

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In this campaign the Irish-American voter has an important advantage over other voters. If he be a man of any intelligence he has had the opportunity for a study in comparative politics, which must be of great value to him in making up his mind whether Free Trade or Protection is the better policy for the country of his adoption. His own country is under the rule and tutelage of the great free trade nation, and for seven-eighths of a century it has enjoyed all those advantages which attend "buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest," without regard to the effects upon the producing classes, and which free trade offers us. The Irishman has had the opportunity of comparing theory with practice in this matter, and seeing whether the headlong race for cheapness is a blessing or a curse to "the most numerous class, that is the poorest." And he knows by sorrowful recollection and recent observation that the outcome of it all is a national poverty, which Chinese Gordon declared to surpass that of the wretched and oppressed peoples of Asia and Africa he spent his life in trying to relieve.

The root of Irish misery—as all impartial observers, free traders not excepted, are now coming to agree—is to be found not in over-population, not in a bad land system, not in faults of creed or character of the Irish people, but in the absence of anything but farming to employ the people. The country feeds something like twice its population, and sinks into ever deepening poverty as emigration depletes the population yet further. If the land were divided among its people it would give them only $14.00 worth a head, and its ownership would not suffice to put a stop to perennial hunger and recurrent famine. The success of the Irish people as workmen, as farmers and even as capitalists in this country and in the British colonies, suffices to show that it is neither their creed nor their character which stands in the way of their prosperity at home. Between the closer study of the facts and the failure of quack remedies there has been a steady approach to consensus on the nature of the evil. The only remaining difference is as regard the remedy. The Free Traders simply despair of the future of the island; Protectionists have a well-founded confidence that the method of protection to home industry, which lifted America from sinking into a similar slough in 1783–89, would be the economic salvation of Ireland.

The ruin of Ireland dates from the ill-fated Union of 1801.

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It was in the interest of British manufacturers that that Union was negotiated, although the rising of '98 furnished also a political motive. Napoleon had shut up the Continent from British exports, when they began to look to Ireland for an outlet for their surplus of manufactures. The first proposal of the Union in 1799 was rejected by the Irish Parliament expressly on the ground that it would involve the ruin of those Irish manufactures which had grown up under a protective tariff during the previous sixteen years. When they agreed to the second proposal in 1800, it was as Grattan said, the introduction of free trade. "All the policy," he said, "of nursing our growing fabrics, and thereby of improving the industry of our country, employing her children, and expending her wealth upon her own labor, is now abandoned, and the language of the Union is 'Buy where you can, and as cheap as you can.'" (Speech of March 19, 1800.)

Some reserves were made in the Treaty of Union in behalf of Irish manufactures, by the retention of some duties for a time, but by 1822 the last were repealed, and the manufactures did not survive them five years. The advantage of British manufacturers in the possession of large capitals, trained labor and well established markets, proved as effectual for the extinction of Ireland's manufacturing industry in the nineteenth century, as vile laws had been for its suppression in the eighteenth. Hence the vast power acquired by her landlords and abused by so many of them of levying rack-rents upon the lands, and of confiscating the tenant's improvements by adding their annual value to the rent. Hence the desolating famines, which never fall upon countries whose manufactures give them the means to draw upon the resources of other land in the hour of need. Hence the ruin not only of tenants but of freeholders and landlords, by the prostration of their one industry through the absence of any home market for its products. Hence the flight of the people by millions from the country they love so passionately, to enrich other lands by the industry which found no opening at home. Hence the demand from the Irish people for the restoration of that legislative independence under which they prospered through the care taken of their industries by protective legislation, and which they would use to restore that legislation. "Protection is an article of faith in the economical creed of the great majority of Irishmen," says Mr. George Pellew, an American Free Trader who visited Ireland in 1887.

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The Irish-American voter who has given any attention to the matter knows that this is what free trade has done for his native country. He knows that Ireland has been sacrificed to England's ambition to make herself the workshop of the world, and to hold all other countries on the level of producers of food and raw material for her consumption. He knows that so long as England continues to legislate for Ireland, the root of Irish misery will never be touched by any remedy she will consent to have tried. And he now is asked to help to subject the industry of his adopted country to the same oppressive competition which ruined that of the country of his birth. It is alike his personal interest and his attachment to his native land which co-operates with his loyalty to that of his adoption in forbidding him to adopt this course. The Irishman in America is very generally a wage-earner. The extinction of manufactures and the exhaustion of capital at home sent him to America to make his beginnings at the lowest round of the ladder. He had not even skilled labor to offer to his employers, for where could he acquire that in a country which imports nearly every spade and shovel, knife and fork, chair and table, boot and shoe, dish and plate, piece of paper, and woolen or cotton garment that is used in the island? This is the exhibit made of Irish industries in the testimony taken by Sir Eardley Wilmott's parliamentary committee in 1885. The utter want of any kind of industrial skill, its complete extinction through disuse, is a common subject of lament among all classes in Ireland.

As a consequence, the Irish in America, although now they are taking to farming in rapidly increasing numbers, and although many of them have risen to become employers of labor, are in the main wage-earners still. What have they or their class to gain by introducing into America the cheapness of Ireland, when this is sure to bring with it that depression of the producing classes upon which this cheapness depends? Are they oppressed by a tariff under which the wages of the skilled artisan have risen from four hundred and thirty-eight dollars to seven hundred and twenty dollars a year, while the cost of necessaries has fallen from twenty-six to forty-six per cent.—a tariff which brings them in increased wages seven times as much as the higher cost of living in America takes from them? They are not so stupid as to risk their own welfare for the promotion of a policy which would inure chiefly to the benefit of the hereditary enemy of their coun-

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try, and whose introduction is hailed with delight by all the organ of British opinion.

Some Irish-Americans will agree to all that can be said again free trade in both Ireland and America, but they refuse to se that it is an issue in American politics at the present time. The adhere to the Democratic party because they refuse to believe tha it means to proceed further in the reform of the tariff than needed to remove its inequalities. They are taken with suc objections as that the Mills bill proposes nothing more than reduction between a sixth and a seventh of the present dutie But they cannot but regard it as ominous of no good to th country that the organs of English opinion are so jubilant ove the President's Message of January last and the Mills bill. It i a safe rule in warfare, whether military or industrial, to find ou what your enemy wants you to do, and do not do it.

If the Mills bill proposed a horizontal reduction of one-sixt along the whole line, there might be a plea that it would not d much harm. But if a man tears down part of a wall to the ver foundation on the plea that the whole wall was higher than wa necessary for its purposes, he hardly can plead that his who operation amounted to no more than a reasonable reduction of i height. As regards salt, wool, lumber and a number of importan American products, whose production must affect the labor mark and the welfare of our farmers, the Mills bill enacts absolute fre trade. In other cases it makes reductions which put the dutie much below the protective level. The amount of this reductio is made to appear less in the "between six and seven per cent. calculation, by reason of especial favors extended to Souther industries, like the growing of peanuts and sumac, and to North ern industries located in States whose votes are sorely needed b the Democrats this year.

It is especially important to note that the Mills bill is no regarded as a finality by any of its supporters. It is only, i the words the late Mr. Dorsheimer used of its predecessor, "th first firm step toward free trade"; or in those of Mr. Watte son, the first move toward "the total destruction of the protectiv system." He who votes for the Democratic candidate this yea expresses in his vote his approval of the doctrines of the Pres dent's Message, which involves one such bill after another unt free trade is complete. And he also votes to fasten the hold

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the free trade leaders upon the Democratic party, so that as long as that party has control of any department of the government, that control will be used in the interests of the free-trade policy. Let any intelligent voter place himself, in imagination, in the halls of Congress on the first Monday of next December, if Mr. Cleveland should be elected. What would be the atmosphere of the House in this matter? What the character of the proposals with reference to the tariff? Would these be confined to the Mills bill, bad as it is, or would not the free-trade leaders begin to "wonder at their own moderation" in proposing so mild a measure? It is impossible to see how a protectionist who is sincerely attached to the Democratic party and believes in its principles can do other than wish for its defeat this year, that the incubus of free trade leadership may be thrown off forever.

ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON.

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COFFEE-DRINKING AND BLINDNESS.

I AM satisfied that defective vision and blindness will pretty soon be a prominent characteristic among the American people, the same as rotten teeth have been during the last two hundred years. I make this assertion without having seen any statistics whatever on the subject of blindness. I found out long ago that a cup of coffee leaves a night-shade on the brain which continues longer than an eclipse of the sun. For some time past I have been consulting with different persons in Council Bluffs, who are suffering with failing sight, and in each instance I ascertained that the unfortunate person was and is a regular coffee-drinker. I had long noticed that the eyes of old coffee-drinkers had a dry and shriveled appearance.

Having discovered, some years ago, that my own eyesight was surely weakening, I then ceased to drink coffee as freely as I had used it, and became a moderate and more observant patron of the fragrant narcotic. But I have learned that moderate coffee-drinking is a hard thing to manage, being pretty sure to develop into the regular habit again with insidious ease, especially at those times when the physical system feels itself to be in need of some elixir. Besides, it is quite distressing for a person to be fighting off a powerful habit at each meal time. I now feel free of the coffee-drinking vice, and will have no more trouble with it unless I shall again fall a victim to some church supper or to the magnetic blandishments of some buoyant hostess.

Having long worked at a trade which requires almost as exact a use of the eye as the occupation of a jeweler, I made the discovery that a single cup of coffee would have a perceptible effect on my eyes. This fact was the more apparent because my eyesight was originally very good—in fact, about the best. After having used coffee with indifferent frequency and copiousness for

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many years my sight became abnormally weak, and I began to feel a horror of darkness, wishing that the sun would never set, and desiring instinctively to go to some place where the nights would be short during the entire year. But now I have quite little of this feeling left. My eyes have regained, to a curious extent, their former range and spontaneity. I again enjoy the long panoramic views of nature which are afforded from the baby mountains that skirt Council Bluffs on the east like an encampment. I can take these long telescopic sweeps of vision again without blinking or feeling the weakening relaxation which alarmed me a year ago. I have no doubt but what this weakness of the eyes which results from coffee-drinking is due to the sympathy which the optic nerve has for the nasal cavity (the latter being continuous with the membrane of the mouth). The nasal cavity, with its first pair of brain nerves, is naturally a principal place to be affected by any drinking habit. For instance, to partake of a dish of soup will sometimes cause a person's breathing to become thick and decidedly labored. All of the sensory nerves are much affected by coffee-drinking—those gentle and highly refined threads of sympathetic force which enter largely into the sense of smell, taste, sight and hearing. The entire sympathetic system is likewise involved immediately in the coffee-drinking habit. The brain, again, is intensely affected thereby, because the principal nerves of the brain branch off from the nasal cavity.

Coffee-drinking is especially injurious when it is resorted to as a backing for strong food. There are plenty of robust persons among us who have drank coffee pretty freely for a lifetime, but who are seemingly uninjured by it. To this fact I reply that appearances are sometimes deceiving to unpracticed eyes, and that a vice does not in all cases show its effects plainly in the first generation. The free use of coffee dates back only one generation in this country. But this I will say, that no person is as stout for three hours after he has drank coffee as he was before.

As long as a person remains endowed with latent constitutional strength he can participate in different vices with seeming impunity—but he is gradually using up his capital and will reach his limit ere his life is fully prolonged. His children and grand children will show a degeneration of the family stock, though they doubtless exhibit at present a premature brightness of mind. Children that are allowed to partake freely of coffee will become

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restless, fussy and noisy, half wild with mischief. They probably advance in their school studies with abnormal rapidity. But they hate work. At times they are indifferent about education. Their strength goes to the brain. They grow rapidly, but not aright. They develop into men and women three years too soon. Yet their eyes dance with angelic splendor, and their cheeks glow with vermilion, providing that they started in life with robust constitutions. If they began life with puny physiques, however, coffee will make them slim and ghostly, and their eyes and features flat. Coffee will seem to improve those persons only who have a surplus of constitutional vigor. These individuals will seem possessed with forms and faces of marvelous grace and finish, yet they will fade all too soon, and fall into the hands of the doctor. Coffee has a magical effect on the heart and circulatory system, and for a while produces the intoxication which approaches that of opium or cocaine. It causes a swift growth and swift decay. It produces beauty and exhilaration, but not endurance. It gives a sentimental strength—the strength that pertains to runts. The best thing that can be said of coffee is, that it has a tendency, like opium, to make lawless persons tame. It leads not to additional irregularities, like whiskey.

While coffee causes a temporary activity of the digestive system and mind, this is a circumscribed activity—a sentimental or sympathetic fantasy—and not a muscular inspiration and prowess. Coffee eats into the digestive membranes, forcing their glands to pour forth their reserve of juices, thus drying up the fountains of life and leaving in these little urns of vitality the seeds of rheumatism, catarrh, kidney ailment, heart disease, lung infirmity, and abdominal degeneration. Coffee-drinking exhausts the mouth and throat, leaving the face a grinning skeleton, while the body is honeycombed. The penetrative and stimulating qualities of coffee are excessive as well as insidious. But nature abhors anything that leads nature, and will gradually withdraw from it, leaving in the temple of life nothing but a shadow and a name.

Plenty of apparently robust persons will rise up serenely when they read this dissertation, and exclaim: "I have drank coffee forty years, and I am as stout as an ox." Many of the arsenic-eaters of Asia are said to live to great ages, but this is not the case

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with the majority of them. It is claimed that opium may be used with very beneficial results by persons who have well-balanced judgment and self poise. Indeed, morphine was regarded not long ago as the long-desired balm of life, the golded specific for a world of ailment. Some men, who simply excell in constitutional vigor, may feel themselves benefited and refined by burning up their daily surplus of vitality with coffee or opium, as they have no taste for expending it for the purpose of acquiring knowledge and wisdom. But the coffee-drinker, however robust he may be, will put on a pair of spectacles at a comparatively early period of his life. Besides, he is all the while enslaving himself to a habit—a fact that is full of foreboding. Again, he is surely approaching a time when his reserve force of vitality will all be prematurely used up—a period in his career that will begin a new volume in the coffee-drinking habit, for every cup of it will now fill him with fire, while his helpless desire for it continues to increase. To a ten-year-old boy of this city I remarked, a few days ago, "You must quit drinking coffee, or else you will never be anything but a runt." He replied, "Oh, no; I couldn't live without it." In conclusion I will add, in the language of Dr. O'Leary, that "The thing which we think we must have is always that which is killing us."

J. M. HOLADAY.

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THE ISSUE OF 1888.

THE issue of the pending National contest is one of approval or disapproval of the existing Federal Administration. Each voter can cast but one electoral ballot, and by that single, supreme expression of his judgment as a sovereign citizen declare his conscientious conviction whether Democratic control of Federal affairs should be continued or Republican direction re-established.

There are many important questions involved in the election, but they must all be determined by the vote according to the balance of opinion of each individual as to whether the Democrats should be ousted and the Republicans re-instated. This general issue is emphasized by the fact that the chief Democratic nominee is the present incumbent of the Presidential office.

It follows that the entire record of the Democratic Administration should be taken into account in considering the issue of 1888, and that comparison should be made with Republican administration during preceding Presidential terms to judge whether on the whole the country would benefit by preventing the continuance and completion of Democratic plans. In estimating the value of what the Democrats have done, the fact that the Republicans still control the Senate and practically hold a veto power, must not be overlooked. If the Senate, as well as the House and the Executive, had been Democratic, the present Administration could be held to stricter accountability than can now be fairly done. In the absence of full control of the legislative branch of the government allowance must be made for partial failure to carry out Democratic pledges, and the Democratic Administration and party must have the benefit not only of what they have succeeded in doing, but also of what they have promised and commenced, but on account of Senatorial opposition failed to fully perform. Should the Democrats prevail in the approaching election, majority control in the Senate will soon follow, and in any case the verdict of the people would prob-

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ably avail to place the Senate in practical accord with the President. Shall the experiment of Democratic national government be interrupted before the trial can be full and fair? Are the results of the past three years such that the test should be no further pursued, or should a verdict of approbation of what has been done be rendered in the belief that the future conduct of affairs will be at least equally satisfactory? The votes of some will be controlled by one sort of considerations, and those of others by different ones, but the judgment that must be given is simply yes or no to the question, "Shall the Republicans be put back again, or shall the Democrats have a chance to show whether they can competently administer our national affairs?"

At present one great question mainly occupies the public attention, that of taxation. This far-reaching subject brings the economic question of the effect of taxation and trade regulation upon industry more prominently before the people than has ever before been done in this country. But the tax question is one of those respecting which Democratic Administration has had no opportunity to furnish demonstration of the soundness or unsoundness of its theories. Nothing can be done by way of practical test without the concurrence of the Senate, and such concurrence, if obtained, will be likely to be upon terms that would necessarily modify and to some extent confuse the issue. Nevertheless the public mind is fastened upon the tax issue, and will not be diverted from it, and it is altogether probable that more votes will be influenced by approbation or disapproval of the Democratic plan, as embodied in the Mills bill, than by any other single consideration, or perhaps by all others taken together.

Had the Chicago Convention contented itself with adherence to the system its party created, the Republican position would have been one of defense of the existing protective system pure and simple, and the comparison could have been made by the people directly between what the Republicans have done in the past and what Democrats are now promising to do. But the Chicago platform does not merely stand by the record of the Republican party. It goes beyond all previous economic declarations in our politics, and indeed runs counter to nearly all of them.

It suggests a tariff to check imports, and declares that all internal taxation, including the whiskey tax and the new tax on oleomargarine, enacted to protect the dairy farmers against

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fraudulent imitation of their products and brands, should be repealed before any tariff reduction is effected. This novelty introduced by the Republican Convention makes the tax issue not one between what the Republicans have enacted and what the Democrats propose, but between two contrasting propositions, the Democratic idea of reducing receipts by adding to the free list and modifying the schedules of articles continuing to be taxed, and a novel scheme that may fairly be characterized as a system of prohibitory taxation.

The Republicans cannot under these circumstances claim that they are defending a cherished American institution. They are proposing something more radical than their opponents advocate. They ask the country to take a new departure and to adopt the theory of taxing for the sake of controlling and restricting manufacture and commerce in a way that has never heretofore been seriously proposed.

The tax issue between the Republican and Democratic parties is therefore in no sense one between protection and free trade. It is simply one between tariff revision by reducing the number of taxed objects and lowering the rates of taxation, and the erection of a new system of tariff for protection only, in which the amount of money to be collected shall be left altogether out of question, and no heed be taken whether revenues be increased or diminished, or prices go up or down. When the money is collected some way will be found of spending it, or of distributing it, if there be more than can be spent. But we must, according to this theory, continue for time without limit, to collect not merely war tariff taxes, but duties high enough to shut out foreign competition, and to hold our own markets as a self-producing and self-sustaining country.

Mr. Blaine developed one weak point of this position in his Portland speech about the trusts. With a tariff framed primarily to prevent importations, prices would be held at the highest point to which combinations could raise them without fear of check by the competition of articles of foreign make. The only limit to charges would be the ability of the combinations to hold together, or the patience of the people in refraining from violence as the last mode of redress. The theory that trusts cannot control the business in any article used by 60,000,000 people is refuted by the sure demonstration of experience. Trusts do control business in

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such articles, and they are getting control of new branches of manufacture almost every day. The case of the trusts makes the issue very plain between reasonable tariff, with a safety valve in the ability to check extortion by importation, and exorbitant customs taxes without any such check. This is only one feature of the many sided question of taxation which the American people are called upon to decide.

But it is entirely safe to say that the effect of Mr. Blaine's Portland speech, contrasted with the anti-trust declarations of President Cleveland's messages, will be so great, that the issue between a policy that would check the trusts, and one that would render any check upon them impossible, will continue to attract public attention until the end of the campaign, whatever the action of Congress may be. It is the issue of anti-monopoly against monopoly presented in the clearest form, and illustrated by the experience of every consumer of the necessaries of life. Were tariff duties made still higher, the complaints against monopoly that now exist would necessarily be multiplied.

The fact that the Republican tariff doctrine of this year is a new departure in the direction of greater protection to monopolies cannot be successfully denied in view of the declarations of the Tariff Commission of 1882, and the speeches and state papers of Republican statesmen from the date of the enactment of the highest war tariff down to the present time. In 1870 Senator Morrill, the official sponsor of the high-tariff rates, said: "It is a mistake of the friends of a sound tariff to insist upon the extreme rates imposed during the war," and the public has recently become very familiar with declarations of the same nature made by Grant, Arthur, Garfield, Blaine, Sherman, McCulloch, Logan, Allison, Oliver P. Morton, Henry Wilson, Kasson, Hawley, Folger, and even the present Republican candidates for President and Vice-President. The fathers of the Republican tariff plank of 1888 are not to be omitted from the list of hostile critics of the system they now advocate. In 1882, Mr. William C. McKinley, of Ohio, said: "The free list might be enlarged without affecting injuriously a single American interest," and in 1886 Mr. William D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, declared—

"Let the raw material come in. Let us make blankets that will drive out English blankets. Let us make our own 'English frieze' and 'Peterboro' frosted beaver.' Let us be able to rival England and France and other representative nations in making these cloths."

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It is, therefore, plain that the Chicago tariff plank is revolutionary of the previous theory of the Republican party as expressed by its leading men, as well as in the tax planks of 1868 and 1884, the first of which declared: "It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be reduced and equalized, and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit," while the second said: "The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus."

The new departure of Republicanism causes a singular condidition in the attitudes of the two parties in the great national debate. While in the forum of action the initiative lies with the Democrats and has been assumed by them, in the forum of discussion the affirmative rests upon the Republicans through the necessity of explaining to the country a new proposition which differs far more widely from Republican practices and theories of the past than does anything that the Democrats have proposed or attempted. Mr. Hewitt's epigrammatic letter was the first sound unofficial explanation of the attitudes of the two parties, neither of them proposing to sustain the present protective system, but one advocating revision by reduction, while the other calls for the change from protection to prohibition.

Turning from the field of taxation and finance in which the discussion is necessarily theoretical, the mind of the thoughtful voter will be occupied with the issue of administrative reform. It was upon that question that Tilden obtained the votes of the majority of his countrymen in 1876; and Cleveland's administration has afforded the first opportunity for practical test of the truth of Democratic professions. Here is opportunity to compare, not what the parties are saying, but what they have done, and the people will find no obstacle to a fair comparison of Democratic performance with Republican performance under conditions substantially alike and laws not greatly varied.

Is or is not the tone of the Federal service on the whole better than it was previous to 1885? Is or is not the influence of the general government throughout the country now cast more uniformly and more strongly than heretofore in favor of simple economy and pure administration of public affairs? Have the Democrats when in power tried to keep, and on the whole succeeded fairly well in keeping, their promises to make the government better than it was?

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Civil Service Reform was strongly advocated by Tilden in 1876, and, whatever criticisms have been fairly or unfairly made, it is certain that it has been first rendered practical and efficient under Cleveland. That we have on the whole an honest civil service, such as the Democratic platform of 1884 promised, cannot be denied, and no one will question the record that great advance has been made in the methods of competitive examinations, and that the power of appointment to positions covered by the civil service law is exercised through impartial operation of the reform machinery. The difficulties encountered by the President in putting the law into efficient operation have been almost incalculable. But not only has that duty been performed, but the system has been saved from its greatest danger in being taken out of the realm of mere theory and adapted to the conditions and requirements of a vast and complicated administrative system. That such was not the case under Republican federal control is undeniable. The Senate debates show that the Republican civil service was a fraud and a sham, and that there was annually lost to the Government at the port of New York alone more than $20,000,000 by gross delinquencies and neglects of public officers. That the system was partial and administered by connivance is plain from the fact that the percentage of Democrats who obtained positions through the examinations was ridiculously small. That a great change in this respect has been effected is shown by the long continuance in place, during Cleveland's term, of a very large percentage of Republicans, and by the prompt promotion or appointment of men who passed the examinations in spite of their being Republicans. That the public administration at places of greatest importance has substantially improved is shown by the proceedings of the Hale Investigating Committee recently in session at New York, which, formed for the purpose of discrediting Democratic direction of the Custom House, resulted in eliciting a tribute to improved management. Taking the country all through, it is certain that the tone of the federal service has been raised, that the abuse of public office for partisan ends has decreased, and that statutes, which under former administrations were universally defied, are now scrupulously observed. It is plain to every candid inquirer that the Democratic pledge for administrative reform has not been broken, and that there is solid foundation for the assertion of the St. Louis platform that :

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"The Democratic party welcome an exacting scrutiny of the administration of the Executive power, which four years ago was committed to its trust in the election of Grover Cleveland, President of the United States; and it challenges the most searching inquiry concerning its fidelity and devotion to the pledges which then invited the suffrages of the people."

The question of the public lands next comes in view, with the record of recovery and approaching restoration to the public domain of more than 130,000,000 acres wrongfully held by favored grantees of Republican rule. The importance to the people of a just execution of the Homestead Laws cannot be overestimated. That the Democrats are executing these laws justly is not denied. It is useless for Republicans to claim that they would have done as well had Blaine been elected. They had abundant opportunity for firm and fearless administration of this great trust, but they did not embrace it. Like most other features of Cleveland's administration, what has been done in respect to the public domain bears the stamp of his individual thought and effort, and the stand he took early in his term, ever since firmly maintained, cannot fail to tell strongly in his favor with the voters of the country.

Respecting pensions the facts and figures are too familiar to call for repetition. The President has been the instrument of doing more for Union veterans than any of his predecessors, or any two of them combined, eager and willing as they undoubtedly were to help the deserving soldier, and the administration of the Pension Office has been marked by reforms which have enabled the recipients of well deserved government aid to realize much larger net results than when the claim agents were in substantial command of that branch of the Interior Department.

In the management of foreign affairs, the Chinese treaty will attract the most attention. It is the unquestioned will of the people that the competition of Mongolian labor with American should be prevented, and that Asiatic barbarism should not be allowed to infringe upon American civilization. Chinese immigration has increased at a very rapid rate. Our laws have not heretofore been executed so as to check it. That the present Administration is laboring zealously to effectively administer these laws is certain. The treaty is not, it is true, in force. And here again comes into play the obstructive veto power of the Senate. Had the convention with China been ratified

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as adopted by the contracting powers, a stop would have been put to the Chinese peril. The delay the Senate has caused may render the treaty fruitless, and if this is done the responsibility will rest fairly upon the Republican party, while the Democrats cannot be deprived of the credit of an effort to correct the evil which has elicited tributes of admiration from the statesmen and publicists of Europe. As to the contract labor laws in general, current events furnish abundant proof of the energy and intelligence with which the Democratic administration devotes itself to their enforcement.

In the work of naval construction it is not likely that any voter will hesitate long in choosing between the methods that obtained under Robeson and Chandler, and the intelligent and enterprising management of the present Secretary of the Navy. And so it is with a number of other questions of administrative detail, respecting none of which can it be fairly claimed that Democratic executive work has been inferior to that of Republican administrations.

Hence the Democracy, regarding the whole field of American public affairs, giving due precedence to industrial and fiscal questions and laying proper stress upon the advantage to our manufacturing industries of the admission of raw materials free of duty, has a right to claim from the American people a verdict of approbation of Democratic administration upon the ground of what has been done under existing laws, as well as on the score of what ought to be and, in the event of Democratic success, will be accomplished under statutes framed in accordance with Democratic principles. It is the boast of the Democracy of our day that it is first of all practical and business-like in executive work; that it deals with conditions, not with mere abstract theories, and is bound by its record, its principles and its hopes, to do the best that can be done for the people under the conditions that may from time to time confront it.

In the character and career of Cleveland and of Thurman it tenders to the people guarantees that continued confidence will not be misplaced.

A DEMOCRAT.

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THE ASSASSINS OF LINCOLN.

To the Editor North American Review, New York City.

DEAR SIR: The correspondence between Judge Holt and Hon. James Speed, published in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for July, 1888, does not contain all that should be published. The subject was one which Mr. Speed made up his mind not to speak of, and so had expressed himself to Judge Holt previous to any correspondence. He would only say that in his judgment Judge Holt needed no vindication, and that matters which came to his (Mr. Speed's) knowledge by reason of his position as a cabinet officer he would not detail. Such matters he regarded as confidential, and he would neither write nor talk on the subject.

Notwithstanding Judge Holt's strictures upon this exercise of his judgment, he always had, and expressed, the kindest feelings towards Judge Holt, and he made use, before his death, of an opportunity to express those feelings.

At the annual meeting of the Ohio Commandery of the Loyal Legion, of which Mr. Speed was a member, held at Cincinnati, May 4, 1887, Mr. Speed responded to the toast, "Abraham Lincoln." In his address he said:

"The nation imbibed his magnanimity. The spectacle of so vast a collision, with none brought to punishment, stands alone in history. Only that group of friends who stilled the pulsations of Lincoln's great heart paid the penalty of crime. A maudlin sentiment has sought to cast blame on the officials who dealt out justice to these. One in particular is my distinguished friend, the then Judge Advocate General of the Army. Judge Holt performed his duty kindly and considerately. In every particular he was just and fair. This I know. But Judge Holt needs no vindication from me nor any one else. I only speak because I know reflections have been made, and because my position enabled me to know the facts, and because I know the perfect purity and uprightness of his conduct."

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When he delivered that address Mr. Speed was in the seventy-sixth year of his age. He was very feeble at the time. It was his last utterance in public. In less than two months after delivering it he died. It was delivered before more than three hundred of Judge Holt's old comrades. It was published in the daily newspapers. Judge Holt saw it, read it and commented on it to his friends. Mr. Speed's word was all he could give Judge Holt. He gave it as publicly as he could, and it should have been published with the correspondence.

I send you by same mail a marked copy of the address referred to.

I also inclose you an article on the trial of Mrs. Surratt, which Mr. Speed prepared just after the nomination of General Hancock, at your request. After its preparation Mr. Speed decided not to send it on. You may conclude that its historic value is of sufficient importance to publish it now.

Very respectfully, JOHN SPEED.

I would not undertake to give within the compass of a short article the details of the monstrous crime of the assassination of President Lincoln; nor would it be possible in such limits to set forth the facts which demonstrate the guilt of the persons punished for that crime.

But as the nomination of General Hancock has invested this subject with a fresh interest, I will briefly present some of the points connected with it.

Mr. Lincoln was assassinated April 14, 1865. A few days before this General Lee had surrendered the army of Northern Virginia. But the war was not by any means over at that time. For more than a month afterwards armies of the Rebellion were still in the field, and for many months the angry billows of the war did not entirely subside. For four years the sulphuric atmosphere of actual war had hung over the country. At the national capital no other air was breathed. Four years of fierce bloody conflict raging all around, within sight and hearing, and almost up to its very gates, had constituted Washington practically a military camp. The city was policed by soldiers. The public buildings were guarded by soldiers. The army was the protector as well as defender of the capital. This condition of affairs perfectly answered Lord Coke's definition of war:

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"So when, by invasion, insurrection, rebellion or such like, the peaceable course of justice is disturbed and stopped, so the courts of justice be as it were shut up, *et inter arma leges silent*, then it is said to be time of war."

It was in the midst of such a disturbed state of affairs that the assassination took place. The dreadful event, of course, intensified those conditions. The assassins were taken and held to answer for the awful crime. The question arose, Should they be tried by the civil or military courts? The victim was not an ordinary citizen. He was the Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the Union, which at that time numbered more than a million men. The crime was most extraordinary. The times were equally so. Every substantial consideration of justice and fairness and common-sense demanded that the military arm of the Government should try the accused and deal with them according to the facts.

That Mrs. Surratt had a fairer trial before a military court than she would have had before the civil tribunals at that time is to my mind unquestionable. In the midst of the fearful excitements of that hour the place of greatest calm was military headquarters. The soldiers were the peace-officers of the times. They quelled mobs, they prevented lynchings. Such was the upturned condition of society that judicial calmness was more to be expected from trained and experienced officers of the army than from a civil magistrate and a jury.

In the opinion I gave as Attorney-General of the United States upon this question, this language is used:

"It is manifest, from what has been said, that military tribunals exist under and according to the laws and usages of war, in the interest of justice and mercy. They are established to save human life and to prevent cruelty as far as possible."

The following language is also used:

"That the judgments of such tribunals may have been sometimes harsh and sometimes even tyrannical, does not prove that they ought not to exist, nor does it prove that they are not constituted in the interest of justice and mercy. Considering the power that the laws of war give over secret participants in hostilities, such as banditti, guerrillas, spies, etc., the position of a commander would be miserable indeed if he could not call to his aid the judgments of such tribunals. He would become a mere

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butcher of men without the power to ascertain justice, and there can be no mercy where there is no justice. War in its mildest form is horrible; but take away from the contending armies the ability and right to organize what is now known as the Bureau of Military Justice and they would become monster savages, unrestrained by any and all ideas of law and justice. Surely no lover of mankind—no one who respects law and order—no one who has the instincts of justice or who can be softened by mercy, would, in time of war, take away from the commanders the right to organize military tribunals of justice; and especially such tribunals for the protection of persons charged or suspected with being secret foes and participants in hostilities."

That opinion also set forth that armies have to deal not only with open active enemies in the field, but also with secret enemies, spies, brigands, bushwhackers, assassins; that the military arm of the United States was put forth to deal with the assassins of the President and Commander-in-Chief of the Army, slain by them in the midst of the very fiercest conflagration of war. For this there could be no complaint. It was proper and humane.

The military commission which tried the assassins of the President was carefully selected. It was composed of men taught by experience and habit to maintain coolness and equanimity in the midst of the most exciting scenes. If it was possible at that period and at that place to have secured a fair trial, the method adopted was the most certain to secure it. That commission certainly had no desire to wantonly and recklessly inflict punishment upon woman. It patiently investigated the case. If Mrs. Surratt had not been guilty, if there had been any reasonable doubt of her guilt, she would have been acquitted as some of the other accused persons were. The Government never showed any disposition to deal severely with any of those guilty of crimes connected with the rebellion. Its military power was exercised mildly and humanely. It was only in a few instances of absolutely hideous crimes that the perpetrators suffered the extreme penalty.

There is no ground for any complaint that the military court was harsh, or unjust, or cruel. There is every ground for the conclusion that it did its duty with judicious calmness and perfect conscientious impartiality. It found the proofs of guilt clear and incontestable, and rendered judgment accordingly.

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The propriety of unusual and even extraordinary action on the part of the military arm of our Government when some extraordinary occasion calls for it, has just been most strikingly illustrated in the nomination of General Hancock by the Democratic party. According to every Democratic authority that party claims to be the champion of the principles of military subordination to civil authority, at all times and in all places when war is not flagrant. At the same time, according to every Democratic authority, the grounds upon which the nomination was given to General Hancock are contained in his general order No. 4 promulgated at New Orleans in November, 1867. This was more than two and a half years after the surrender of General Lee. The meritorious part of that order, according to Democratic authority, is as follows :

"The right of trial by jury, the habeas corpus, the liberty of the press, the freedom of speech, and the natural rights of person and the rights of property must be preserved. Free institutions, while they are essential to the prosperity and happiness of the people, always furnish the strongest inducements to peace and order. Crimes and offenses committed in this district must be referred to the consideration and judgment of the regular civil authorities, and *those tribunals will be supported in their lawful jurisdiction.* Should there be violations of existing laws which are not inquired into by the civil magnates, or should failure in the administration of justice by the courts be complained of, *these cases will be reported to these headquarters when such orders will be made as shall be deemed necessary.*

"While the General thus indicates his purpose to respect the liberties of the people, he wishes all to understand that armed insurrection or forcible resistance to the laws *will be instantly suppressed by arms.*"

This order was issued more than two years after the war had closed. The merit claimed for it is that it recognizes the civil authority of the State of Louisiana as the lawful governing authority of that State. And for this reason and on this account the Democratic party has avowedly given General Hancock the nomination for the Presidency. Yet it is perfectly plain that the order in every part of it contemplates the supremacy of his headquarters over the civil authority of the State of Louisiana.

Imagine for a moment such an order at this time in Louisiana or any other State. Imagine General Hancock saying now to the

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people of New York (his headquarters now being in that State) that if the civil courts of New York fail to administer justice, complaint can be made at his headquarters and he will issue such orders as the case may require.

This suggests to the mind the patent fact that what is appropriate for one time may not be appropriate at another time. A distinguished soldier is nominated for the Presidency for doing in 1867 that which, if done to-day, would be regarded as the act of a demented person. In the same way that it was proper and laudable for General Hancock in 1867 to hold the army in terrorem over the civil courts of Louisiana, for the humane protection of citizens of that State, so was it right and just and humane to try the assassins of President Lincoln by a military court in 1865.

No one doubts that President Lincoln was assassinated by Wilkes Booth. No one doubts the guilt of his male accomplices. No one complains of the punishment they received. But there is a sentimental idea that there was some sort of injustice done to the woman Mrs. Surratt. It is creditable to the chivalric feelings of the American people that they recoil at the idea of hanging a woman. Yet it is perfectly true that all the crimes in the calendar have at one time or another been perpetrated by females. It was Jezebel who stirred up Ahab, and incited him to commit the foulest murders. Only recently, in the State of Indiana, a woman has been found guilty of the murder of her husband, and is now under sentence of death by hanging. It is needless to cite examples, however.

There was an additional guaranty of the fairness of the proceeding against the assassins of the President in the fact that General Hancock, a disciplined, trained, and accomplished soldier, was in command at Washington at the time. His calmness and equipose in the midst of excitement, cultivated by familiarity with scenes of carnage in the whirlwind of scores of terrific conflicts, would naturally inspire calmness in others. Had the assassins been turned over to the civil courts for trial, the result would doubtless have been the same; and in that case we would have heard a more just complaint perhaps; that instead of a trial by an impartial military tribunal, they were remanded to the mercies of an angry and revengeful mob of passionate civilians from whom it was impossible to obtain a fair jury.

JAMES SPEED.

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AMERICANIZED ENGLISHMEN.

DURING the past year, several thousands of Englishmen, who had long resided in the United States without renouncing allegiance to the Crown, have formally assumed the duties and responsibilities of American citizenship; and the movement is still gathering force. Its significance is not to be questioned. Unlike the Irish, who look upon this country as a natural haven from the ills of poverty and coercion, and the Germans, who are eager to embrace an opportunity of escaping, for good and all, from an irksome military régime, it is probable that but few of these Englishmen came here intending to stay. For, in spite of free trade and low wages, England is still a pleasant land to live in; the prospect of a career lies open to the clever and enterprising, and the popular love of the soil is strong. It is, therefore, no uncertain testimony to the attractiveness of American institutions that they should have led these cautious Britons permanently to expatriate themselves. Their action argues no thoughtless abandonment of ancient traditions. On the contrary, they have served a long apprenticeship to Republicanism, being slow to embrace new beliefs, and their education has been gradual but none the less complete; and in now evincing a desire to show what good Democrats they can become, they enjoy the best of all possible qualifications—an enlightened interest in American life and progress, gained from actual residence in the country, and a just appreciation of the forces which direct them.

Yet it is doubtful whether anybody entertains a profounder contempt for these United States than the newly-landed Briton whom curiosity or the want of work has driven across the ocean. The insinuation that he could ever become a "renegade" would evoke his bitterest scorn. He is willing to make as much money as he can and get home again as soon as possible; and while he

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remains, nobody is so loyal to his prejudices, or so bent on resisting what the Father of his Country called the "insidious wiles of foreign influence." Every novelty in his surroundings, every apparent eccentricity in the conduct of the people, he accepts as a corroboration of the antique libels which have passed current in England as "the truth about America" since the days of Martin Chuzzlewit; and the fortunate friend at home to whom he unburdens his mind in his letters learns to look upon this benighted land as the stamping ground of a race of mild barbarians, strongly addicted to the whittling of pine sticks and the mastication of bad tobacco, whose favorite expletives are "I swan!" and "gol durn it!" and who never miss an opportunity to declare their ability to "lick creation."

He is scandalized to discover the ease and want of ceremony in social and business intercourse, and, unless he happens to be a prize-fighter or prize-preacher, is puzzled to understand why there should be nobody eager to kowtow to him;—more extraordinary still, why there should be nobody eager to be kowtowed to. In the offensive familiarity and independence of menials, who have actually the effrontery to call their souls their own, he reads symptoms of the true tyranny of democracy, and the sight of so many common people enjoying a condition of "beastly prosperity" is apt to interfere with his own enjoyment of life. The blunt plain-speaking of the newspapers in calling sinners to repentance impresses him as an undue interference with the "sanctities of private life." The "exposures" of crooked politicians and financiers he, of course, accepts as the inevitable result of a vicious social and governmental system, though he thanks his stars that no such revelations are ever necessary in *his* moral country! The army and the navy excite his ridicule. Britannia still rules the waves, and he rejoices that he comes not of a race which takes more interest in railroads and stock-yards and the tariff on glassware and "dress-improvers" than in the attitude of Holy Russia or the complications with the sublime Porte. The unfinished look of the country, the snake fences, the rough, unpainted barns and wooden farm-houses, offend his sense of the picturesque. He misses the cool green lanes and pleasant hedgerows and massy minsters and ivy-covered ruins that adorn the face of rural England. He agrees with Ruskin that there can be but little of virtue in a land which has no castles. And then the courts!

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How can he wonder that divorces are common in Chicago, that anarchists hatch their plots undisturbed, that wealthy criminals purchase acquittal, and that "necktie parties" are not unknown in Arkansas and Alabama, when he sees that the forms of the law are shamefully neglected—the association in his mind between the form and the substance being so intimate that he is unable to perceive how one can exist without the other? In place of the solemn circumstance with which the operations of the law are invested in Great Britain, he observes in the American courts an utter absence of the conventional paraphernalia. No coats-of-arms, no tipstaves, no maces, no euphuistic circumlocution in the bouts of contending counsel; judges without ermine, barristers without wigs, ushers without gowns—it is evident these Americans have not yet learned how to live! Their restless energy, their abruptness, their ready and racy speech all irritate him. He is indignant at their want of respect for age, indignant at their persistent practicality, indignant, even, at the wit and satire of their pretty women; and his heart warms towards the glorious old Union Jack as he piously thanks Heaven he was born in a country where other orders reign!

Unless circumstances prevent, he probably shakes the dust of the New World from his feet at the first convenient opportunity, and retires in disgust to the happy land where present evils are condoned and future ones provided for in the name of a romantic past, and, if he does not forthwith perpetrate a book vehemently denouncing this hemisphere and all it contains, is pretty sure to set up as an ardent tory and avowed enemy of Republicanism, hostile from knowledge and implacable from experience. If he does not so return, the chances are that his stay is made under protest, accompanied with much chafing at the restraints which bar him from "civilization," and with the active exercise of John Bull's inalienable right to grumble.

But in time, and by slow degrees, he begins to perceive that the essentials of civilization are here and have been here for some time, even if some of its refinements and elegancies are still lacking. It gradually dawns upon his mediæval intellect that there is some reason in the belief that nine-tenths of the world were not created to be patronized by the other tenth. He is weaned from his petulant hankering after universal homage and his consuming passion for salaams and self-abasement. The superstitious idea

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that a title, a ribbon, or a star can endow frail humanity with strengths and dignities that nature withheld, loosens its hold upon his mind. So also do the fatuous delusions that selfish conservatism and exclusiveness are compatible with manly courtesy; that it is a virtue to be the son of one's father; that starch and buckram are things to be loved for themselves; and he learns that true knightliness is consistent even with saw-milling and the handling of grain, and that an Illinois log-cabin may be the home of rarer worth and more genuine greatness than a feudal fortress with two round towers and a moat.

It is because they have learned these truths and because they respect the spirit which battles for them, that so many Englishmen are "declaring their intentions." They have not been led away by the rhetorical twaddle of weak-minded sentimentalists. As their observation has extended, they have found that the blemishes they at first discovered were but as spots on the sun. They have come to the belief that august traditions and splendid memories may be but other names for rapacity and intolerance. The Americans, they see, are an eminently practical people, who have too little leisure for indulgence in schoolboy rivalries and too much intelligence for insisting on distinctions which arbitrarily divide mankind, and exist only that some may enjoy more than their lawful share of power and possession. They see that Jefferson's "aristocracy of virtue and talent" is the real aristocracy which it is an honor to adorn. Their hearts have ceased to yearn for the precious privilege of contributing to the pampering of a growing horde of royal ninnies, while a homeless and famine-stricken crowd huddles at night for refuge on the cold stones of Trafalgar square, uncared for and despised, in the very shadow of the palaces where riot reigns. The hoary institution of primogeniture no longer commands their awe. Their good sense rebels against the meek rendering of tithes, that fat prelates may wax fatter by violating the simple tenets of their faith. They are ready to believe that the world is getting beyond the point where the fostering of the spirit of feudalism and the building up of a stupendous military armament are the most praiseworthy objects of the life of a great nation; and they are even recreant enough to hear without dissatisfaction of the result of an unjust war against the Boers and of the gradual success of the Irish in their struggle for self-government.

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Whoso asserts that these transmuted Britons can be organized as a political force against any other body of citizens surely reckons without his host. They seek to help the Union, not to hinder it. They know that all is not perfection. They recognize the need for electoral reform, the necessity of measures for checking mob-rule and for neutralizing the power of unscrupulous corporations. But they know enough to cast their votes on the side of honest government and to look askant at bossism and the machine. And of one thing they are sure—that the nation which transformed itself into an army to fight for principle and not for profit, and peaceably disbanded when the occasion for their services had passed, which sent out the flower of its youth to be martyred for the sake of a degraded negro and then magnanimously extended a universal amnesty to those who betrayed its flag, is a nation capable of the purest patriotism, the sublimest self-denial, and the most heroic sacrifices in the name of justice and truth.

ERNEST LAMBERT.

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THE NEW CONSCIENCE.

FOUR hundred years before the workingman of Nazareth in behalf of the toilers of the world came to deliver his message of love and a sword, a new conscience stirred some obscure heart in Greece to speak for liberty for the laborer.

Plato was dreaming of the elevation of man through impossible Republics and preposterous stirpiculture, and had no ear for this new voice. But Aristotle, man of science, knowing that the humblest of opinions may come to be the biggest of facts, puts it on record, though evidently merely as an eccentricity of contemporary thought. "There are some," he says, "who think that it is only the fashion of despotic government which makes one man a slave and another free, and that the tie must be unjust because it is founded in force." His was one of the greatest of minds, but it never divined that in this whisper of the new conscience of a few nameless Greeks lay the full diapason of a cry before which would fall many a wall of citadeled oppression, built on sand because founded on force: unjust and therefore unsound. That still small voice rolls around the world, shaking the oppressor out of his seat, whether king, priest, man-stealer or monopolist. To the accompaniment of the guns of Fort Sumter and the Wilderness it sang the chorus of union and liberty which Lincoln in 1861 heard sounding forth from the mystic chords of the American heart. Those unknown Greeks were the first Abolitionists. Lincoln signed only a chapter of the emancipation which they proclaimed, and that not the last chapter. Ceaseless growth means ceaseless emancipation. The symphony Lincoln heard plays on. One by one the cries of imprisoned and imprisoner blend into the strains of a widening freedom.

It is the fashion of scholars to speak of the Greek intellect, the Roman will, the Hebrew conscience. The Hebrew had a conscience, not because he was a Hebrew, but because he was a

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man. The same birthright belongs to the Greek and to all of us. It was the voice of conscience, "that prophetic sign of my divine monitor," which always spoke to Socrates when what he was about to do would be wrong, and by the same revelation God wrote the Ten Commandments on the hearts of men before they were graven on the tables of stone.

Fichte says that the greater the wealth and rank the greater the vice. Seldom does the new conscience, when it seeks a teacher to declare to men that what is is wrong, find him in the dignitaries of the church, the state, the culture, that is. The higher the rank the closer the tie that binds those to what is, but ought not to be. It is the tramp, Christ, who has not where to lay his head, the peasant Luther, the poor mechanic William Lloyd Garrison, who are free to listen to new truth, and brave and free to speak the words that lead men out of old church, and old state, and old industry. The new conscience which warns civilizations to do justice to the workingmen has always encountered the opposition of the mighty ones of earth. If this spirit of love and liberty stirred in the heart of any Jews of the old dispensation, their priests, unlike the scientific observer of Athens, let the fact find no record in their scriptures. Aristotle declared that no man could be a workingman and lead a life of virtue. In ancient times, learned, pious, patriotic, noble, all agreed that the victor who had the right to kill had the right to command, and that he who was given his life had no right to demand his liberty. Lawyers invented the doctrine that the slave could not buy his freedom, for the money he proffered for it must be his master's. The early Christian Church did not so much disapprove of slavery as of the enslavement of its own members. In the United States religious synods voted that the slavery agitation should be suppressed by laying on the table, unread, all petitions, resolutions, and other papers about it, and Evangelical Alliances forbade young people to dance, but refused to declare it sinful for a bishop to hold slaves. Boston hissed the fanatic who declared that the theatre would receive the gospel of anti-slavery truth earlier than the churches. But in two years slaves on the stage in "Uncle Tom" shot their hunters amid loud applause, while the pulpit remained silent or hostile. As for property, its broadcloth mobs attacked meetings of women for proclaiming the new freedom, dragged

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Garrison through the streets of Boston to hang him for maintaining the right of the black workingman to fuller growth, and its Presidents and Supreme Court Judges ran with the bloodhounds to catch the fugitive laborer. The courts then, as now, made many things successful which they can never make respectable.

When the subject of the extension of slavery in the territories was before Congress, a Southern member arose and told how he loved his black "mammy." He had been nursed at her breast with her own black baby. "I love that black mammy," the Southern member fervently exclaimed, "and when I go into Nebraska I want to take her with me." "We do not object," said Ben Wade, "to your taking your black mammy with you to Nebraska; but we don't mean to let you flog her or sell her when you get there." Pro-Slavery law and order easily proved that to buy and sell workingmen in the market was constitutional, pious, profitable, based on contract, benign. All that the new conscience could reply was: "Hear the whistling of that lash, that drip of blood, the cries of that mother, the cries of the children; see those empty homes, those human faces twisted out of shape, master's as well as man's."

It was ridiculous, was it not, to meet those judges and bishops and millionaires and great editors with this talk about the lash, and blood, and the sacredness of the persons of working men and working women? There was no argument in it, only sentiment. The gravestones of Arlington and Gettysburg prove that sentiment can force a hearing.

There came a day when the black mammy could not be sold or flogged, at home or abroad, when families could not be torn asunder at the auction block, when the great brothel was closed where half a million of women were flogged to prostitution, or worse still, degraded to believe it honorable, when a professedly Christian nation ceased to deny, by statute, the Bible to every sixth man and woman of its population. This was what the new conscience did for the slaves with the help of religion, but against the opposition of the church; with the help of the spirit of justice, but against the opposition of lawyers, judges and legislatures; with the help of the true science of labor, but against the efforts of the economists and capitalists. After all is over, lawyer, priest, professor, and money-maker find that they were wrong and conscience right, that the theory that treated men and brothers as chattels or

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goods was illegal, unjust, irreligious, uneconomical, and wealth-destroying.

For twenty-three hundred years the argument never reached a higher plane than that attained by the forgotten Greeks, who held that they were unnatural ties which were founded on force. This revolt against ties founded on force finds another echo in the aspirations and ideals of those who are to-day seeking for themselves and others the right to work in secure tenure of employment, to live as long a life as their neighbors live, to live it as freely and to rear heathfully and happily children to live after them.

It was the force of battle that overcame the laborer of the old régime ; it is the force of the market that subdues the laborer of to-day. The tie between the laborer and the master is still one of force, although it is not now one of visible chains. You say, "The laborer is free, he consents." Yes, free as the captive was —to work for what he can get or die. Like him he consents to save his life, or, more accurately, a part of his life. The Congressional committee investigating the strike of the Reading Railroad's men asked General Manager Whiting, as reported by the Associated Press : "Have you made no effort to supply the places of the striking miners ?"

"No, sir."

"Why ?"

"Because we desire and expect our old men to come back."

"On your own terms ?"

"At the old rates, yes."

"What force do you rely upon to bring these men back !"

"Well, sir, their necessities."

It is not by free will that the workingmen of to-day work ten, twelve or fourteen hours, take competitive wages, live in poor tenements at high rents, spend their days as the mere servants or grooms of machinery, and, sending out their little boys and girls, and their pregnant wives to work, sacrifice almost everything that makes family life for you and me so sweet. They do not submit by consent to live a life not much above half the average length of that of the prosperous. Workingmen the world over are struggling to free themselves by every means of strikes, protest, organization, even to the desperation of physical violence. Singular behavior, is it not, for men who are only doing what they want to do ? They are kept down by force, by the force of

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competition instead of conquest, by the strategy of the generals of supply and demand. Once it was the force of the warrior, now it is the force of the capitalist. It was their weakness and the strength of others which formerly made the workingmen merchandise, and force still keeps them at the mercy of the markets. But the unresting heart of man is always in revolt against ties founded on force. Yesterday it declared that government is the control of man by man, and that the rights of rulers are drawn from the consent of the governed. To-day it avows that property is the control of man by man. That the rights of the ruled are the source of the rights of the rulers in property as much as in government. That if the common people can be allowed to vote in government, they can be allowed to vote in that other government, property. That if they do not insist upon their right to vote upon all affairs of property, they will lose their right to vote in matters of government. That there is no conscience, new or old, which compels the many to die undeveloped in order that the few may live misdeveloped.

What stirred the warrior's heart to spare the captive instead of killing him was the first beat of a new conscience. When it grew stronger it said: He is more than a commodity. Grown stronger still, it says to us: His labor is more than a commodity. The central doctrine of the slave-power was that the laborer was merely merchandise. The central doctrine of the money-power is that labor is merely merchandise. Society supports the latter, as it did the former, with the consolidated array of all its institutions and laws. But both doctrines, and all that is built upon them, are absolutely destructive of the liberties of the laborer not only, but of the liberties of all. The conscience that said the laborer shall not be a commodity though despised of the builders is now a cornerstone. A new conscience takes its stand before all our institutions, and says to them: Labor shall not be a commodity, for the labor is the laborer.

Under the theory of merchantable man the employer said: My workmen. Under the labor commodity theory the employer says: My workmen. Neither means my sheep to feed, but my sheep to shear. Congressman Hutton, of Missouri, says about the Reading strike: "I am tired of reading about strikes. Capital should be at liberty to pay whatever it sees fit for labor, and to employ whom it chooses." An iron manufacturer lately said:

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"If you employed on a large scale you would soon find that you ceased to look at your men as men. They are simply so much producing power."

If the Captains of Industry can reduce ore to iron only on these terms of reducing men to units of power, the sooner the Captains of Industry are discharged, and their places filled by Brothers of Industry, the better.

Henry Ward Beecher, after the Emancipation of Slavery, said, amid enthusiastic applause, "We have struck the shackles from the slave, and made him free and a citizen. Now he must take care of himself, and work out his own social and industrial salvation." "Why?" asked the new conscience. Is he not still your brother? Because you have abolished one of the wrongs done him by you, does that give you the right to maintain the other wrongs? Are you not still his neighbor? When you work with him, and divide proceeds into profits and wages, will the God of Plymouth Church considerately turn his back, so as not to see whether you love your neighbor as yourself? The remark of the great pulpit-orator epitomizes the whole spirit of our civilization towards the laborer.

The ancients bought and sold men; we buy and sell the heart-beats only. The new theory that though the workingman is not a thing, his labor is a thing, marks but a slight advance on the old. It means that the labor can be bought and sold regardless of the man behind it; that the buyer, the employer, can take any advantage of the seller, provided he does it under the formulas of supply and demand; that to buy his life of him cheap and sell it dear is all we have to do with the laborer; that the only conscience the buyer needs is to observe the rules of the market; that he can depress or raise prices without moral responsibility for the backs bent or hearts broken by his manipulations; that he can take more than he gives, regardless that the "goods" he gets are the lives of workers who cannot survive if they receive less than they give; that buyer and seller have a right to deal with each other as if they were business animals, instead of business men. The labor is the laborer, because the man has to live twenty-four hours in order to be able to work eight or ten. His heart and head, his thoughts, his wants, his aspirations, all co-operate to produce the so-called commodity which, at the sound of the factory bell, is ready to begin the work of the day. When the man leaves

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the factory, he but takes the "commodity" away to recuperate his wasted energies for another day. That which he has left within those walls is not a thing. It is himself. "The great fundamental principle of anti-slavery is that man cannot hold property in man," said Garrison. The doctrine that "labor is a commodity" gives man property in man, and is therefore iniquitous and void. If labor is a commodity, the laborer is a commodity, and chattel-slavery still exists, freed only of all its Biblical and patriarchal restraints, possessed of powers for abuse more dangerous because indirectly exerted.

If you shall not buy the whole man, you shall not buy or sell part of a man. You shall not count into your purses the ruddy drops, from morn till noon, from noon to dewy eve, and then say, I know not whence they came, nor how. We who "buy" labor, who take all the expenditure of life that labor can part with, and do not return to the laborer that share in the produce of labor which will permit him to repair his vitality, maintain a family, attend to his political duties, save enough for sickness and old age, have enough for such play and rest as will enable him to live to his allotted span, are, in the words of the Bible, "man-stealers." In our day and civilization such a man-stealer is as bad and wicked as the slave-holder in his. We who take from any business profits or interest on capital while any of our employés are suffering for want of means for full growth as individuals or citizens are man-stealers, and we as man-stealers are to-day, as of old, robbing children of their years of joy, men of their prime, and mothers of their motherhood. It is no excuse for merchant or manufacturer or mine owner or railroad corporation that the "system" permits, even commands, such wrongs. Mankind and God never separate the sinner and the sin. The sinners will go down with the "system" if they don't change it. The money power so contracts with the working man, working woman, or working child that it gets the whole of him or her or it, as Wordsworth says, "health, body, mind, and soul,"—it gets the whole twenty-four hours of him, her or it,—and says, "I cannot share with you enough to let you live at the rate of twenty-four hours a day for a natural life. I and my system can find others in the free labor market so wretched that by themselves they cannot live a week. They are willing to give me outright ten hours a day if I will but pay them enough to live at the rate of fourteen hours a day for

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the few years their bodies can stand it. As you know our God is a God of competition, supply and demand, "free" contract. You must take the wages the other man will take, or yield to him your "sacred right to work." This may seem hard to you, but you must admit that it is right, for all our good and brave business men and their college professors will easily prove to you that you are not a man, but merely a seller in the market, and your labor is not your life, only a commodity. When the employer, the nation, the world of employers sit in comfort, and the employed are massed in the tenements whence comes the bitter cry of the outcast, and where poverty, prostitution, intemperance and premature death are chronic, are they on one side any less the oppressors, are those on the other side any less the victims of force, because the fashionable world says, "Labor is a commodity?" The incantations of political economists cannot cure disease. Conscience cares nothing for the fine phrases of professors, statesmen, lawyers, clergy, employers, for their theories and philosophy of business. It says, "What have you done?" What are the results? Bother your theories and doctrines of rights! Show me the facts, not the formulas! It looks at Chicago and New York, at Cain in his palaces and Abel in the slums, at the profits of one "brother" and the wages of the other. It does not ask what church do you go to on Sunday, nor who were your professors in political economy. No, it only repeats the question asked under similar circumstances some thousands of years ago, What hast thou done? Where is thy brother?

Let us listen while a delegation from the Money-power remonstrates with the new conscience for its unreasonable sentiments and ideas. Here they come, one by one, and range themselves about. First speaks the Merchant prince:

I have a right to buy where I can buy cheapest.

Conscience.—See these little stunted hollow-eyed girls coming out of that factory!

Lawyer.—Wages are settled by contract.

Conscience.—Where can I find white-haired workingmen?

Capitalist.—Every man has a right to do what he will with his own.

Conscience.—What is the price of a Senatorship to-day?

Statistician.—Never were food, fuel, clothing so cheap.

Conscience.—Little Mary Mitchell works in Waterbury's rope-

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works five days a week, from six in the evening till six in the morning.

Railroad King.—Every man makes his own career. I was a workingman myself twenty years ago, and now I keep a carriage, a butler, and several judges and legislators "in four States," and—

Conscience.—That tired-looking man is a railway conductor of a company owned by half a dozen men worth $300,000,000, which is not enough for them, so they squeeze a few more dollars a month out of him by making him on every alternate trip do twenty-eight and a half hours' continuous work without sleep.

Banker.—Our wealth is increasing one billion dollars a year. We have boards of trades, the best railroads in the world, packing houses that can kill ten thousand hogs.

Conscience.—The sickening stench, the blistered air, the foul sights of the tenements, and the motherhood and the childhood choking there!

Conservative.—This is the best government in the world. America is good enough for me.

Conscience.—Listen to that "tramp, tramp, tramp" of a million men out of work.

Philanthropist.—The church is renewing its youth. We give millions of dollars for hospitals and foreign work and domestic missions to carry the gospel to the poor of all nations.

Conscience.—I hear a voice in the Abbey that cries, We do not want charity; give us work.

Manufacturer.—Without this system of industry the subjugation of North America to civilization would have been impossible—we could never have shown the world the magnificent spectacle of—

Conscience.—There is a little boy standing ten hours a day up to his ankles in the water in the coal mine!

Coal Monopolist.—I have a statistician who can prove—he can prove anything—that the workingman is a great deal better off than he ever was, that he makes more than I do, that small incomes are increasing and large ones decreasing and there is no involuntary poverty, and that the workingman could live on twenty-five cents each a day, and buy up the United States with their savings—and—

Conscience.—How long shall it be cheaper to run over work-

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ing men and women at the railroad crossings in the cities than to put up gates ?

Clergyman.—The poor we are to have with us always.

Conscience.—That sewing woman you see pawning her shawl has lived this winter with her two children in a room without fire. Are you wearing one of the shirts she finished ?

Statesman.—The workingman has the ballot and the newspapers. He is a free citizen.

Conscience.—As the nights grow colder see how the number of girls on the streets increases !

Now what can a man of affairs, a business man, a reasonable man, one who understands political economy and the Constitution of the United States and all that do with such a disputant as this ? The more the pride of America points to its magnificence, and boasts of its Declaration of Independence, the more does the new conscience point to the wrongs and sufferings of these miserable men, women and children—and so few of them too !

All extreme cases, you say ? Just so. It was the possibility of its extreme cases that destroyed slavery. The possibility of such extreme cases as these demands the abolition of the system and the philosophy which permits them.

Upon the false theory that men cease to be brothers when they buy and sell, upon the theory that employer and employé are not fellow-men, but merely dealers in a non-human market, is built up the false society in which we live. The new industry and finance have put the labor of mankind under the control of the Money Power, which declares its right to deal on all sides with men according to the rules of a prize-ring called Supply and Demand. Conscienceless and greedy as the old slave power, its competitive rents give us the slums. Its competitive wages leave women the choice between suicide of body or suicide of soul, and tempt men to find in the stimulant of drink a substitute for the stimulant of food. Professing the gospel of competition, it imports contract labor, breaks up trade-unions, employs and disemploys labor in order to buy cheap of men who have no commodity but themselves to sell. But when it turns about as seller, it confronts the buyer with pools, trusts and combinations denying competition. The revolution of the new industry and the concentration of wealth have given the Money Power unlimited means to buy, and the morals which permit it to buy men as commodities, permit it to

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buy everything, even the things once held too sacred for traffic. The system that denies the manhood of man in the most sacred function of all, laborer, must deny it in all the relations based on this foundation. The system which permits the welfare of the laborer to be settled by competition, the law of the market, the false claim of property to do what it will with its own, must allow all welfare to be settled by the same philosophy. If the Money Power can make life and the means of life mere commodities, it makes it right to buy life as cheap as possible, to sell it as dear as possible. It makes it, when bought, the buyer's own. Hence the capitalist's claim of a right to do as he will with his own is the claim of a right to do as he will with human lives. Such a system, and it is exactly ours, has no moral reserves with which to meet the Money Power when it applies these principles as it is doing to-day in every direction to the moral ruin of society. Just this result is being worked out. The Money Power with its huge fortunes and corporations built up on the right to treat life as a mere commodity, more and more treats everything else as a mere commodity,—from the virtue of employés to that of trustees, public and private. It refuses to respond when called to account. It simply asserts its right to buy cheap and sell dear, and to do what it will with its own. Andrew Carnegie, before the Nineteenth Century Club, dismisses the labor agitation by saying in effect, "Since no man in the United States need be a pauper unless by his own deliberate act, there is no labor question." Must American citizens wait to redress their wrongs until they have been made veritable paupers by the Steel Rail Trust and its confederate price conspiracies? That was not the way of the fathers. The price of tea in the American Colonies was cheaper after the imposition of the tax than before. Nothing could be so light as that—a burden of less than nothing. But Justice Dana, in the presence of a great assemblage of the angry townspeople of Boston, standing under the Liberty Tree, administered an oath to Mr. Secretary Oliver that he had not distributed and would not distribute the odious stamps.

The people of Boston did not wait until they had been made paupers. "Enslave but one human being," said Garrison, "and the liberties of the world are put in peril." Surrender to the Money Power the right to make but one price, the control of all prices will surely follow. They who control the prices of a nation

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control the liberties of its markets, and will come to control all its other liberties.

The conservative cries out, "You are going to destroy society."

Did it destroy society to abolish slavery?

The conservative cries out, "This is a revolution!"

No, it is the remedy.

During the last century has come the realization of the vision of the ancient Greek poet who foresaw a time when "the shuttle would weave and the lyre would play of itself."

That is the revolution.

Time was when judges sent men to jail for forestalling, cornering the markets. That was in the "dark ages." Now the money power establishes "trusts" in everything, and our judges tell us that the burden of monopoly is "light."

That is the revolution.

The new industry has broken up the brotherhoods of the old industry, and has swung the few strongest and cleverest of the workingmen into palaces, and front pews, so far away from their old comrades and fellow workers that, as one of them said: "I have no time to remember their faces, much less their names."

That is the revolution.

It is the revolution that has capped the new industry with the high finance, and tied up the people in the paper chains of charters, contracts, and stock-exchange securities. "The time is coming," said the Earl of Derby not long ago, "when the people of Europe will repudiate their national debts, which now take eight hundred million dollars a year from them."

That is the revolution. And the gospel of the revolution is the doctrine that you can do anything with your fellow-man provided you do it in the market.

The remedy is in the new conscience, which says simply that a man shall never be so much of a buyer or seller as to cease to be a brother, and that labor shall not be made a market thing.

Before us is the practical question, What is the next step? The next step, like the first step, is more liberty for the laborer. His emancipation still invokes us. Conscience has freed him from frightful abuses, but frightful abuses remain. His growth is not yet full and free. A gospel of hatred is rising in classes and masses which hates employers, hates employés, hates household ser-

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vice, hates household servants, hates foreigners, hates pools, hates trades-unions, hates the grangers, hates reformers, hates politics. All these are symptoms of a high fever. But a new mankind has been conceived and will be born—a winged beauty out of the earth-measuring worm—which will not know force, and fraud, and hatred, and will let love, their natural tie, bind men and nations together.

Churches come and go, but there has ever been but one religion. The only religion has been that which clears off one by one from the face of man the earth-stains that hide the God imprisoned in the flesh, which breaks down one by one every barrier which incarnation has put in the way of the growth of the God within in the likeness of the God without. In the sight of the new conscience wherever man walks, there is the Holy Land, and it raises the cross of the new crusade which shall deliver it from the infidels who deny the divine right of the people that the will of God shall be done on earth as in heaven. It insists that every question between men is a religious question, a question of moral economy before it becomes one of political economy, and will make all political, industrial, and social activities functions of a new Church—a church of the deed as well as of the creed—a church that will not only preach Christ but do Christ—a church where science, the revelation of what has been, will never be at war with religion, the revelation of what ought to be—a church which will make its worshipers share this world as well as the next world—a church which will recognize no vested right of property in man except the right to love and be loved—a church which will declare that the difference in the death rate between the classes and the masses is evidence of murder done for money—a church which will look upon idleness by the side of industry, wealth by the side of poverty, luxury by the side of want, health by the side of disease, as impious and profane in the highest degree, the real sins of the Holy Ghost—a church which will stop the manufacture of poor houses, because it will stop the manufacture of poverty—a church which will not let any man offer charity to those to whom he refuses justice—a church which will not help the poor, but will set them to helping themselves, and will slay the infidel in the path—a church which will abolish all middlemen in morals, and will make every man doubly guilty who grinds the face of his fellow by an agent, guilty for himself and guilty for

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the agent—a church that will offer not even the lowliest member of the communion of mankind crumbs from the table, but a seat at the table and a full meal three times a day every day—a church that will consider it more practical to keep its buildings open and its congregation at work in relays night and day than to let "brothers" starve and freeze or go astray for want of sympathy or advice—a church which will persecute the heretics who give the highest bidder the best pews in the churches and the best chance in the courts—a church which will teach that the life eternal is the life we are living now—a church which will not let the poor give up all of this world on the unsecured promise of the rich to divide the next world—a church that will judge civilization not by the six million dollar cathedral on Murray Hill, but by the children in the back alleys—a church that will "dine with the poor and preach to the rich," until there are no more poor—a church which says that those who are to be brothers hereafter must be brothers here—a church that will know what its members believe only by what they do—a church which recognizes nothing as love which does not bear justice as the fruit—a church of law and order, but the law is for the rich as well as for the poor, and the order is to be peaceful growth for the least of these little ones—a church which will prevent the anarchy from below by punishing the anarchy from above—a church which will deny the right of infanticide to the employer, now denied by society only to the parents—a church which declares the sacred right to work to mean that he who works a full day shall live a full day, and that employment is a right not a charity—a church which will restore reverence to men by giving them leaders in church, state and business worthy of reverence—a church which will make every social wrong a moral wrong, and every moral wrong a legal wrong—a church which will teach men to turn the other cheek when they can do it as free men, not as slaves—a church which will deliver with the message of peace, the message of a scourge for the money-changers in the temple—a church which will tell the merchant-prince that between him and his ruined competitors, and between him and his employés there is a moral question greater than the question of markets—a church which will abolish the merchant-prince, and the factory corporation sooner than let them abolish the childhood of children—a church which will not let the employers profess on the fourth of

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July that all men are born equal, and then fatten the rest of the year on the advantages of organization which they deny to the employé—a church in which God will be natural and men supernatural—a church which will abolish charity and philanthropy, for these cannot be between brothers, and need not be where justice is—a church in which no man will have a right to do with his own what he will, but only a right to do what is right—a church which will take the weak and despised out of the earthly Inferno of dirt, and want, and ignorance, to which they have been condemned by the oppressor—a church which will keep a hell hot in this world to punish the oppressors here for every blow they strike at God through his image, man—a church which will tell the sinner that repentance fit for heaven only begins by restitution and reparation on earth—a church which will teach that brothers must share both the mess of pottage and the birthright—a church which will worship God through all his sons made in his image, through a mediator, Mankind, which, having suffered all and sinned all, can sympathize with all, and will carry all the weak and weary ones safe in its bosom—a church which will realize the vision of Carlyle of a Human Catholic Church.

HENRY D. LLOYD.

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"COMMON-SENSE AT LAST."

[FROM A LETTER BY A BRITISH PEER.]

MY DEAR ———: I have just come from the Carleton Club, where I found your letter dated at Washington, and a copy of the Mills Bill which you were so good as to send me.

I took the liberty of reading your letter and the bill to a number of Cobden Club men, and it may interest you to learn that their *unanimous* verdict was that America has come to common-sense at last.

The Mills Bill, on a careful examination, I find to be a somewhat timid and tottering advance to Free Trade; but it shows that America has turned her back at last to the mischievous teachings of your Websters and Clays, whose preposterous "American system" (as they called the Protective system) has so long taxed your native population for what? For the benefit, really, of an insignificantly small class of American manufacturers and a horde of foreigners of the lower classes (chiefly Irish) who form the bulk of your manufacturing artisans, or "mill hands." But the Irishman of New York, if I am not wrongly informed, is coming gradually to his senses and will vote largely at the coming election for Cleveland and Free Trade. If this be true, England will verily have been well repaid for her tolerance of Ireland and the Irish. I congratulate you on at last having come to understand that the common-sense policy for nations is the same policy that leads to individual prosperity—namely, taking care of "Number One"; that there should be no sentimentality in business; that the wise man buys in the cheapest market and sells in the dearest, and keeps his business and his patriotism (to use an American expression) "in separate bottles."

We English have long been amazed at the commercial blindness of America to her true interests. You forbid your capitalists

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to buy our ships, although we can build them much cheaper than you can do, and you have sought by a protective tariff to keep out our manufactures in order to "build up" a class of traders whose existence would depend on their power to demand and command higher prices for their goods, by reason of the tariff, than our traders could well afford to sell you the same articles for. England owes her commercial supremacy to a policy of enlightened self-interest rigidly adhered to. She buys raw materials wherever she can buy them cheapest, and she has often saved her *adult* industries, when threatened by the demands for higher wages by trades unions, by importing labor from Belgium and other continental countries, and thus enabling her to defy the combinations and domination of workingmen, who now seem to rule your industrial world.

And after all to what good end do your high wages tend? Is the laborer or his family any better off for a piano in his room or silken fineries for his wife and daughters? Do not these mock luxuries tend to dangerous discontent? Do not high wages encourage these poor people to live above their station and to look for the real and unattainable luxuries of the rich?

It seems strange to us English that your people should have been willing to make such wasteful and foolish sacrifices to stimulate "home production." What difference does it make to the consumer where, or by whom, the goods he buys are made, provided that he obtains them at the world's lowest market rates? Is it an unwise sentimentalism which prefers to "patronize" the home manufacturer when, if foreign made goods were used, a number—perhaps an equal or even larger number—of manufacturers now employed in production, when displaced would be employed in *distribution*—as importers, transporters and sellers of foreign goods at a lower price to the consumer.

I do not find your newspapers "uninteresting," which Mr. Matthew Arnold declares to be the chief defect in your civilization. I find it extremely interesting to see the enthusiasm of your Republican papers in favor of the tariff mode of indirect taxation of the whole people in favor of a single class and section; while equally amusing is the fierce denial of your Democratic journals that their's is a free trade party or that they are inclined to become free traders. Yet nothing seems to us more inevitable than that the logic of events will force the Democratic party to

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take decisive grounds in favor of absolute free trade. But this seems an American trait—to deny, when honestly reforming, any intention to be virtuous. Your Republican party, I remember, used to protest quite fiercely that it did not intend to "interfere" with slavery in the States, yet it now "points with pride," I notice, to its great work in abolishing slavery. So must it be with your Democratic party. It has taken the first step that counts, and we shall watch here with interest the impending contest, sure to end, I think, in the triumph of the free trade party, led by your present President—a man who, in the soundness of his views, reminds me of the best type of English statesmanship.

Sentimentality—the specious plea of "building up" "home" industry—and prejudice against England—to which I am told is largely due the maintenance of protection in America—will be sure to disappear before the relentless and resistless advance of the great principle of self-interest, whose motto is the wise, if not the philanthropic, maxim: Buy cheap, sell dear.

Of course, England will be greatly benefited by free trade with America. It will stimulate our manufacturing interests to a wonderful degree. But this result to us can only come, Americans should remember, by our continued capacity to sell our goods at lower prices in your own markets than your own tradesmen can sell with a profit, with all the advantages in their favor of being on the ground and without transportation charges to defray before reaching the consumer.

I need not say also that the abolition of unfriendly custom-houses will do more than any other one thing to promote the growth of international good will between the two countries and cement the Union of the great race which seems destined to dominate the world during the coming centuries.

Another point: Experience, as well as political economy, teaches that wealth has been largely created by the division of labor. This principle needs to be extended. It has produced beneficent results wherever tried—on a small scale—and it should now be extended over the globe. We need a *territorial division of labor*. Let each nation do what it best can do in its present condition, and the result will be beneficial to every nation. America, with her vast and fertile virgin territory, but her comparatively limited cash capital, seems destined by nature to be the great producer

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of the good of the world—the chief farmer of the nations. She can now produce more food, and better food, and at less cost, than any country in the Old World. Her farmers ask for no protection, and need none. Nature has protected them by giving them the richest soil in the world, unlimited mineral wealth, and great lakes and rivers to render transportation easy and cheap. Let America devote her marvelous energy to increasing her crops and extending her market for them. England, on the other hand, with limitless capital, with a vast population of mechanics trained by generations of experience, accustomed to comparatively low wages and industries, both by habit and necessity—England, incapable of raising food for her people—is essentially fitted to be the chief manufacturer of the world, and, therefore, necessarily must continue to be the chief customer of America for her natural products.

Why, then, by an obstructive policy—as obnoxious in commerce as in politics—continue to urge measures which are calculated to turn aside into alien industries—industries, I mean, not the natural growth of existing circumstances—the energy that should be exclusively devoted to the development of what I may term the natural order of national development?

As we admit your corn free of duty (to the manifest advantage of all our people excepting the land owners) why should not you admit our goods free of all duty to the manifest advantage of all your people excepting the mill-owners?

But the true policy of America seems to us so self-evident that I can hardly justify myself in wasting time, even in this informal writing, in stating or urging it. *Let America grow and England manufacture:* that, in my judgment, expresses the true policy of both of the great branches of our Anglo-Saxon race. Pardon my long letter; but I have never before taken so much interest in any American problem, and I know you will pardon me. Here we regard Mr. Cleveland as the ablest and bravest President in all your "royal line," if you will permit that, I confess, rather undemocratic expression. * * *

Yours very truly,

*

LONDON, * * 1888.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

TOTAL ABSTINENCE.

If total abstinence from intoxicating drinks were not a wise policy for the individual it would be impossible to show that prohibition of the liquor traffic is a wise policy for the State. The life assurance societies, however, have demonstrated that the total abstainer has at least a third better chance for long life than the moderate drinker. The question as to the advisability of total abstinence is a closed issue. It is no longer in debate among enlightened men. For nearly half a century life assurance societies in Great Britain, Australia, Canada and the United States have many of them been accustomed to insure total abstainers in one section and moderate drinkers in another. The result has been that a *bonus*, a premium of 15, 20 and sometimes 23 and 25 per cent. has been paid to the total abstinence section in contrast with the other. Recent laws in a majority of the States of the Republic require that instruction in the latest inculcations of science in regard to temperance shall be given in the common schools on penalty of a withdrawal of the public funds. All the approved text-books for this instruction inculcate total abstinence.

With any political measure less stern than prohibition, the chief mischiefs of the liquor traffic fail of correction. Centuries of experience have proved that license, high or low, is powerless as a remedy. Whiskey syndicates all over the land clamor for high license in preference to prohibition. The income which the State receives from high license entrenches the traffic behind the cupidity of taxpayers, and so hinders prohibition and makes the population at large a participator in the profits of an infamous business. High license gilds the saloon. It transforms the gin-hole into the gin-palace. It tends to produce a combination of the liquor saloon, the gambling hell and the brothel under one roof in each establishment. As Herrick Johnson has said: "Low license asks for your son; high license for your daughter also." All license of the liquor traffic means state permission to a man, for a consideration, to poison his neighbors and manufacture drunkards, paupers, criminals, taxes, ruined homes, and lost souls.

If the liquor traffic becomes a public menace, its suppression becomes a public necessity. No doubt it injures the Republic now every year more than slavery did in any one year before the war. As far as the liquor traffic does harm, so far its suppression would do good. It is the notorious testimony of statisticians, judges, publicists and competent observers of every class that it is the direct or indirect cause of seven-tenths of the pauperism and crime of Anglo-Saxon nations. According to Mr. Gladstone, intemperance has injured those nations worse than war, pestilence and famine. As total abstinence is a wise policy for the individual, and as any measure less stern than prohibition is ineffective in correcting the mis-

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chiefs of the liquor traffic, the wisdom of prohibition is as evident as that of curing the pauperism, crime and political corruption which the liquor traffic causes.

Prohibition of the liquor traffic on Sundays is now mandatory in every State and territory of the Republic. The reasons which make prohibition a wise policy on Sundays make it such on all other days of the week.

The Supreme Court of the United States has recently affirmed the complete constitutionality of the principle of prohibition.

All the churches of the country, except the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Episcopal, have declared themselves in favor of prohibition. The Methodist church teaches that the liquor traffic can never be legalized without sin. The Presbyterian church refuses church-membership to rum sellers.

A drunken people cannot be a free people. Under universal suffrage, prohibition is a political necessity, because without it the liquor traffic, as experience indicates, is sure to become a predominant power in municipal, State, and National politics. Every political party that is afraid to offend the whiskey vote is in bondage to the saloon. But the sovereignty of the saloon in great cities is the sovereignty of the slums. Until prohibition succeeds, average municipal politics will be kept in bondage to the criminal classes. When the path to political preferment leads through the gin-mills, free government is a farce and its future is likely to be a tragedy.

To be successful in the United States, the suppression of the liquor traffic must be political and national. Only the arm of the National Government will be found strong enough to break up the whiskey ring. It is a great advantage to secure prohibition in single States; but, unless the nation forbids inter-State commerce in liquor and ceases to be a partner in its manufacture, and destroys the traffic in the territories and other quarters under national control, that advantage is largely lost. The perils of the future will make prohibition prohibit. Political necessity overthrew slavery. Political necessity will yet make the liquor traffic an outlaw by both State and National enactment. The sovereignty of the saloon is incompatible with the safety of popular self-government. A nation that would not submit to the South in the saddle will not permanently submit to the saloon in the saddle.

JOSEPH COOK.

II.

A YANKEE PYTHAGORAS.

MR. A. BRONSON ALCOTT, in honor of whom the Concord School of Philosophy held this year a single-day session, ought some day to have his life painted, exactly as it was, by the side of the lives of his wife and his daughter Louisa. He was in some aspects at the level of Plato; yet in others hardly more than a crank: singularly gifted in speculative insight, in ethical refinement and in flawless integrity, but as empty of practical sense, as destitute of practical energy, and as wild in fantastic whims and worthless in every day work, as any mere tramp on the high road of modern culture.

On a delightful October day more than twenty years since, wandering about the pleasant paths of Sleepy Hollow and the vicinity, Mr. Alcott related to the present writer the story of his eccentric career, in the mood of a man who has lived to smile at his own folly. The turning-point, as he related it, was when he was trying to carry out some of his absurd theories of labor and diet, etc., and Mrs. Alcott finally told him that, although it might do for him, it would not do for her and the children. Loftily grieved at this decision of the most excellent of practical women, the philosopher withdrew to solitude, as to a crucifixion, re

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solved to eat no more, and to give himself a martyr to the cause. Ignorant of the unrevealed possibilities of which Tanner was the prophet, the apostle of bran and water expected an early interview with the angel of death, and was rather disappointed at the end of three days to find nothing happening except some self-assertion of appetite, the sting of which brought a suggestion of sense, which said, "What better will it be if I die? Is it not better to live for what can be done, even if all cannot be accomplished?" Thus reasoning, the martyr came out of his seclusion and had something to eat, and henceforth became a moony talker about the battle which he had failed to organize.

The earliest example we can recall of his much vaunted gift in conversation was an evening at the hospitable Quincy home in Park street, Boston, where the hostess had gathered a large company, at fifty cents each, to hear an Alcott conversation and put a little money in the philosopher's pocket. The occasion was to be an illustration of conversation on the high plane of a conception formed by Mr. Alcott, and on which he had taken a patent under favor of the admiration of his friends. The lofty point of the new theory was, that in genuine conversation we speak by inspiration, and on this sky-piercing theory a large and brilliant company found Mr. Alcott impaled speechless. He stated the theory and restated it, but could get no farther, and seemed serenely happy at letting us see (at fifty cents apiece) that without inspiration no conversation was possible.

It was a point of the theory that apt inquiry from the disciple might serve to tap the master's inspiration. So Mr. Emerson, the most practical of fine dreamers, humbly casting eyes of beautiful discipleship up to the master on the tripod, sought by apt inquiry to tickle the great soul into talk, but absolutely without the slightest effect. The master was serenely indifferent to everything but the very small mouse which the new Mt. Sinai had brought forth, and we went our way without our money at the door, a concession cheerfully made to the most interesting of objects of charity.

It was soon enough, however, that Mr. Alcott got down from his theory and talked so readily, so fluently and freely and so aimlessly to all ordinary purpose, that unless he had the whole occasion, it was hardly safe to get him started. Of his fine spirit, his beautiful simplicity and purity of character, his deep wisdom in things of the spirit, and his measurably conservative temper among radical thinkers who regarded him as a leader, there could be no doubt. But very much that he said rose so far into the air of vague speculation as to lose all value and even lack all interest, and there remains little result of his long and singular life, except a name as perhaps a Yankee Pythagoras, who, for some rare thoughts and fine words, will have the fame of a philosopher with very little philosophy to show for it. His practical daughter did a work and made a mark a hundred fold better and deeper than that of her speculative and unpractical father.

E. C. TOWNE.

III.

THE PEOPLE'S BANKS.

EVERY impulse of the wage-earners of our country toward the promotion of thrifty habits among themselves, and also the well-meant assistance of those outside of the above classification in forming societies for this purpose, should meet with hearty encouragement. So the reference in the letter of Henry Melrose, in the July REVIEW, to postal savings banks, is timely. No doubt such a system of banking would be of great benefit to our workers; but without waiting for further legislation, they are themselves establishing banks in considerable numbers,

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on a system already proved beneficial. I refer to the building and loan associations which are enjoying such a vogue at present. Just what has brought about this revival of interest in these institutions it would be interesting to inquire; but without going into that, one can easily see the influence they exert over the habits and relations of working people.

A significant fact, perhaps not far removed from the distrust of corporations noted in the letter above referred to, is that these associations, in many instances, are made up, from their presiding officer to the last member registered, of working people. Much, I think, may be expected from the experience in conducting business enterprises which will in these societies be gained by men whose opportunities have naturally been limited. This is a good school in which to take lessons in the property-rights of the citizen and in commercial usages. These societies hold weekly meetings for receiving the payments of their members, and this union for a common purpose, the feeling of responsibility for the success of the enterprise, and the prospect of becoming a householder, are powerful levers to hold the members up to their work.

While societies of this kind prove so attractive to people of small incomes, and accomplish so much in improving their condition and adding to the number of houseowners, they will do much to increase that body of conservative, law-abiding citizens, which is the best fruit and the hope of a republic.

CHARLES B. GILLETTE.

IV.

WANTED—A TEST FOR PAUPERISM.

HUMAN nature is very much the same the world over, even down to those parasites upon society, the paupers. In France, as in England and in America, the question, What constitutes pauperism? seems to be equally difficult of solution, and to present precisely the same difficulties in every case. The labor test was recently applied in France, with results unusually significant.

It is Pastor Theodore Monod who tells the story. The experiment was tried by an acquaintance of his, a gentleman of means and of wide business connections. He entered into an understanding with various head of business houses, manufacturers and others, by which they agreed to furnish three consecutive days employment at four francs a day, to any man who came to them with a letter from him. Four francs a day, being the highest price paid in Paris for unskilled labor, is, as Mr. Monod observes, "life assured, with dignity."

The student of this problem of pauperism then turned his attention to the street beggars. In eight months' time he was accosted by 727 sturdy beggars, every one of whom urged want of work as the cause of their mendicity. To each applicant the offer was made of a letter which would insure him work; he had but to present himself at a certain place at a certain hour to receive it, and to procure employment at four francs a day. More than half the number, 415, did not even apply for the letter. Of the remaining 312, 138 took the letter but did not present it, 156 received the letter, obtained employment, worked half a day, demanded their two francs, and departed to be seen no more. *Eighteen* out of the whole number, or a fraction less than one in forty, were still at work at the end of the three days. The conclusion was inevitable, after a trial extending over a long period and including hundreds of individuals, that in Paris, at least, not more than two and a half per cent. of able-bodied men who ask for alms are worthy of a moment's consideration.

This being measurably true in all large cities, the question arises, how are we

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to discern the worthy poor, whom the last necessity has driven to appeal to public charity, and who therefore need, and should have, immediate relief? Mr. Robert Treat Paine, whose life and fortune have been given to the study and practice of the best methods of charity, calls this the question of the hour: "To evolve a law or test by which the worthy and needy poor may be distinguished from the willing pauper," the pauper by profession. Perhaps the surest test would be by elimination; *starving the pauper out.* But such a test, besides being cruel to those who do not deserve starvation, can never be depended on so long as free lunch counters exist, and indolent self-indulgence chooses to bring immunity from the pain of sympathy at the price of a glass of beer. Some other method than starvation must therefore be sought. May it be found speedily.

LOUISE SEYMOUR HOUGHTON.

V.

THOSE QUEER WORDS.

IN your June number, "*Notes and Comments*," Mr. E. M. Day, on the word "brottus," says its use was limited to the city of Savannah. This is a mistake. I remember well the word was in common use in Charleston and all the low country of South Carolina. I always entertained the opinion that it was a corruption of "gratis," conveying as it does the same meaning.

Mr. D. also mentions the words "buccra" and "goober" as of unknown etymology. I suggest "buccra" is from the Spanish "vaquero," a cowherder, and by the common people pronounced "buck-*a*-ro." "Goober" is probably from the Italian "gobba," a hunchback, and applied to the ground nut from its peculiar shape.

There is no obscure word that I ever heard of which survived from African sources.

S. HEYDENFELDT.

VI.

A GOOD PLACE TO BEGIN REFORM.

EITHER the veto power is a kingly prerogative, such as ought not to exist in a republic like ours, or else it is grossly misunderstood and criminally abused. There have been presidents, governors and mayors who have used it as if they supposed their personal interests and preferences to be the highest consideration in all legislation. Again, it has been used as an important factor in political plots, like Buchanan's veto of the Homestead bill; and, again, some executives have conceived the idea, in apparent innocence, that they ought to veto all measures for which they would not have voted had they been members of the legislative body. There have been few presidents and governors that have not been quick to resent anything that looked like an encroachment of the legislative upon the executive domain; yet great numbers of vetoes are essentially encroachments upon the province of the legislature, which cannot be resented unless the majority in favor of the vetoed measure happens to be two-thirds. It seems never to occur to the minority that in welcoming the assistance of an arbitrary power, arbitrarily used, they are lowering their own dignity and abrogating their own rights, collectively, as representatives of the people, and that it would be infinitely better, in case of an improper veto, for them to sacrifice their immediate advantage by voting with the majority to make the necessary two-thirds. There are circumstances in which one should "stand by his order." The only proper occasion for a veto is when the

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measure contravenes a provision of the constitution, or when the executive has information not accessible to the legislative body, or when some occurrence after the passage of the bill renders it probable that the legislature would no longer consider it favorably, as, for instance, if General Sheridan had died after Congress passed the bill reviving the grade of general, and before the bill could be signed and the commission issued. It was to cover such contingencies, and to protect the constitution from infringement, that the veto power was instituted; and it could not have been anticipated that any executive would assume to know more of the merits of each particular measure than the committees that had carefully sifted the evidence and spent days or weeks in considering the arguments. Such an assumption is a piece of effrontery that can never be too strongly rebuked, without reference to the intrinsic character of the measure under consideration. When our government was organized, it was supposed that the presidents could be chosen in a non-partisan manner; hence the machinery of the electoral college. With a non-partisan president, the provision that a veto can only be overridden by a two-thirds majority has some reason, since it may serve to check extreme partisan legislation. But that part of the Federal apparatus has not worked as was expected, and our presidents are generally our strongest partisans. The absurdity now of giving to the individual executive a legislative power equal to two-thirds of that possessed by the two houses of the legislature, is so glaring as not to admit of the slightest debate. The remedy appears to me to be simple. The executive should certainly have the privilege of returning a bill with his objections; but if it is again passed by any majority at all—or, at the least, if by the same majority as before—it should become a law in spite of the veto. If the objections thus formally presented fail to convince enough of the legislators to turn a minority into a majority, it is fair to assume that the objections are not sound. Meanwhile, until such constitutional amendment can be made, if legislators were wise and patriotic they would vote to override every arbitary veto, no matter on which side of the question they stood when the measure was passed.

ROSSITER JOHNSON.

VII.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE IN CANADA.

THE day when the question could be asked with some semblance of sense—who reads an American book?—has long since passed; but if you will substitute Canadian for American you may still have your fling at New World contributions to the library table. The literary barrenness of Canada was commented upon in the *Critic* about a year ago, and the writer of the article attributed it chiefly to the lack of true national life and sentiment. More recently a writer in one of the leading Canadian journals ventured another explanation, to wit, the absence of a first-class Canadian magazine. According to him a good magazine would develop a distinctively Canadian literature, in which the long awaited national novel would take a foremost place, and the reproach of Canada be removed.

Assuming for the sake of argument that the latter theory comes nearer the truth than the former, we are brought at once face to face with the question—why is there no first-class magazine published within the borders of the Dominion of Canada? Were one disposed to quibble a bit over this question, an easy way to begin would be by arguing that Canada was not yet big enough to have a magazine of her own, for she can count but five millions of people, whereas her sister nation to the south had at least six times that many before she could boast a maga-

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zine worthy of the name. There is about as much force in this objection, however, as there would be in the reasoning that because the United States had no railways or telephones until their census totalled so many millions, therefore, Canada must await the same stage of development before indulging in these vitally necessary appliances. The question clearly enough is not one of population at all, and some better excuse must be sought for the Dominion's deficiencies.

Is there then no magazine because there would be nothing to fill its pages? The experience of the editors of the principal American periodicals could readily furnish an answer to this question, for there is hardly one that has not scores of MSS. sent him from across the boundary line every year, and who is not now and then well pleased to accept a Canadian contribution. Were merely the "accepted addresses" from Canada during a single year to be gathered together they would undoubtedly be found sufficient in quantity as well as in quality and variety to keep an ordinary magazine well supplied for the same period.

Can it be then that the Canadians do not possess sufficient enterprise to start a magazine, and consequently will leave the undertaking unessayed until some bright American steps over the border and does it for them with the pleasant result of reaping a rich reward for himself? To this very natural inquiry let the volumes of the *Canadian Monthly*, *Stewart's Quarterly*, *Maritime Monthly*, *Provincial*, and other pathetic memorials of profitless publishing make reply. Each one of these periodicals, and especially the first two, possessed merits that made them worthy of a happier fate. But the history of all was the same, a more or less agonizing and vain struggle against neglect and indifference. Out of the many ventures that have been made only one at present survives, the *Canadian Methodist Magazine*, and it owes its vigorous resistance partly to the unique talent of its editor for obtaining material both literary and illustrative without cost, and partly to the fact of its being in some sense the organ of the largest Protestant body in the land.

The simple fact of the matter is that Canada possesses no magazine of her own, because she has such an unceasing flood of English and American periodicals poured upon her that any domestic enterprise must infallibly be drowned beneath its waves. So far as my observation enables me to judge, I would hazard the assertion that as many copies of the leading American periodicals are sold in the larger Canadian cities as in cities of corresponding size in the United States. The NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, *Century*, *Harper's*, *Scribner's*, *Lippincott's*, may be had at any first-class book-store, and one or more will be found in every home where there is the least pretension to culture. This being the case, upon what could the domestic magazine build its hopes of success in competing with so many formidable rivals? Upon superiority of contents? That were hardly possible, even though a syndicate of Crœsuses should put their purses at its editor's command, for the literary genius of both the Old and New Worlds is already under tribute to supply the "great monthlies," and how would surpassing or even corresponding attractions be secured? Then might the magazine depend upon the loyalty of Canadians to patronize the home product in preference to the imported article? The state of affairs in England does not give much encouragement in this direction, for it may with truth be said that there, at the present time, while the home periodicals sell by thousands, the American monthlies, ay, and weeklies too, go off by the tens of thousands, and if this be the case amongst the most sturdily loyal nation in the world, what may be expected of a people admittedly lacking in true national life and sentiment?

The conclusion seems to be inevitable that there are only two ways in which a distinctively Canadian periodical can be established. Either the policy of protec-

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tion must be extended to it, as it has been with success to the sugar and cotton industries, and outside competition made impracticable, or some one of the millionaires, whose numbers are pleasantly increasing in our midst, shall have to adopt the establishment of a magazine as his form of benefaction in preference to endowing a hospital or founding a college for women.

The first method would be suicidal to the intellectual interests of Canada, the second is eminently Utopian, and so the summing up of the whole matter seems to be that there is slight prospect of Canada having a representative national periodical within the near future.

J. MACDONALD OXLEY.

VIII.

THE PHYSICAL DANGERS OF CIVILIZATION.

THE character of civilization is quite as plainly indicated in the common everyday perils which people run as by its laws, its social institutions, or other indices. In the neolithic age, such as our copper-colored predecessors on this continent enjoyed, the careless wayfarer stood in imminent danger of being tomahawked and scalped. In the days of chivalry, when the Christian graces and the sense of personal honor, with all its noble attendant virtues, had begun to dominate men, the hand had not yet ceased to find its most important function in taking care of the head. Midst the splendors of the Italian Renaissance the individual paid the price of prominence in continual risk of the bravo's dagger or the cup of poisoned wine. So one may go on to specialize the current dangers threatening men in different epochs. The dangers which lie in daily ambush for us today are so notably different from those of the earlier periods of civilization that they invite comment. We have become the victims of our own conveniences. This is peculiarly the age of machinery and science applied as art, and we have to pay the penalty in physical risks to life formerly non-existent. We have ceased to stand in much peril of lawless violence except when we travel by coach or rail in Texas or Arizona. Our dangers are railway and steamer accidents, the crush of vehicles in crowded streets, the grip of swiftly running machinery on the careless workman, the dangling electric wire, the treacherous bobtail car, and the like. "The hand of little employment hath the daintier sense," remarked the cynical Hamlet of the gravedigger, tossing up skulls with many a quip. The citizen's callous indifference in rushing through a mass of crowded vehicles is well contrasted with the timidity of the rustic, who hesitates long before so perilling his life. Use blunts the edge of perception, and it is only some unusually startling accident that gives us pause. If one could measurably apply the calculus of chances to the risks he undergoes in an active day in the streets of New York he would probably be amazed at the result. Even in this day of still-hunting for news and hunger for a paragraph, not all the accidents are reported. Manufacturers whose operatives are snatched up by a belt, or railway companies whose brakemen slip off the top of a freight car, do their best to suppress such matters. The law of compensation requires us to pay the price for the increased luxuries and facilities offered by the age of science. The problem of social economy is to lower the price to its minimum, as in the case of active commodities. Public attention has been slowly awakened to this question. There is much more disposition than ever before to hold railways responsible in case of accidents to passengers, if official carelessness or neglect can be shown. Boiler inspections are strictly enforced with more and more rigor. The companies, who have harnessed the electrical demon to some man, are held as trustees of very dangerous, if of very useful

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powers. Municipal legislation in large cities has been stirred up to exact a close responsibility in such matters. The lively and public spirited mayor of New York has taken the earliest opportunity to attack the bob-tail car nuisance. A hundred examples could be cited to illustrate the growing tendency. But after all the difficulty is not so much in the lack of law to provide for cases of criminal neglect in the administration of the organized conveniences, which science has given us, as in good natured indifference to its enforcement. A little spurt of indignation is followed by quick forgetfulness, till the occurrence of the next tragedy. This is all owing to the lazy, *laissez faire*, happy-go-lucky disposition of the great American public. It is not disposed to be vigilant in prevention, and to insist on its rights in season and out of season. Our English cousins are far more prompt and severe in their assertion of that sense of individual importance which crystallizes into public spirit. Our own evolution is in the right direction, but we must grow not a little yet before we shall succeed in properly abating the perils and nuisances now characteristics of great cities.

G. T. FERRIS.

IX.

PERIPATETIC LEGISLATURES.

THERE are, I believe, several instances in the histories of the different States of the Union where, at one time or another, there have been dual capitals. Rhode Island alone still divides the honors, narrow as her territory is, and Connecticut has only lately terminated the long fight which resulted in the centralization of her government at Hartford, leaving New Haven to her elm trees and her venerable university. To the average citizen it may seem that one state capital is enough; sometimes even that is one too many. The older and bigger and richer a State grows the more do corrupt influences flourish and concentrate about the seat of government. Why will not some progressive State that has not yet erected costly public buildings, or whose buildings have comfortably fallen in pieces—why will not such a State inaugurate a purely American method and set up a peripatetic capital? The world has studied the art of war more assiduously than any other, and, upon the whole, more successfully. The problem of providing quarters in the field for any number of men is simple and comparatively inexpensive. The legislatures of very few of the States exceed three hundred, all told; but let us say that the total number to be provided for averages one thousand men, the equivalent of a single infantry regiment. Some salubrious location could be selected, perhaps, by the governor a few weeks in advance of the time for meeting. A severe penalty could be set upon the sale of liquors within a mile of the camp. The State could provide tents for quarters, with larger ones for the daily sessions of the two houses and large wall tents for the committees. Rations would be furnished at cost in suitable mess tents. Obviously, under such circumstances, a dangerously powerful lobby would be out of the question. Members would have nothing to do but attend to the public business, finish the season's work and go home as soon as possible. By changing the location of the camp every year, different parts of the State would have the Legislature at their doors in alternation, and a very simple system of badges, passes, and police guards would keep the camp clear of all interlopers. It is safe to say that the duration of the session would be reduced to the time absolutely necessary for the transaction of public business, and that the expense to the State would be reduced by at least two-thirds.

OLIVER PRIOR.

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X.

THE LONELY SENTINEL.

OFF the coast of Florida, like the dot to an I, lies the island of East Key, and connected with the island by a long causeway is a giant fortress. This fortress, lying midway as it does between Cuba and the United States, commands, on the south, the approach to the whole Eastern seaboard. This fortress, vast and stately, is garrisoned by *one man*. The utter loneliness of Sergeant McKenna's life I can compare to nothing but that of a state prisoner sentenced to solitary confinement.

Sergeant McKenna is both garrison and commander rolled into one, and being a soldier every inch of him, has a high sense of his duties.

Therefore Sergeant McKenna tries to fulfill in his one person the duties of the manifold personages he represents. Thus, he keeps guard, and when the usual four hours are up, though completely exhausted, he will "relieve" himself by a fresh guard mount. To do the honors of the garrison to himself as Commander-in-chief is difficult, but at stated intervals he calls out the guard to himself, and regularly on Sundays he has dress inspection of himself.

Evening parade, too, is seldom neglected, but the crowning achievement of Sergeant McKenna's efforts appropriately to garrison single handed one of the greatest fortresses of his country is, strange to say, accomplished with his—foot.

Sergeant McKenna, by an ingenious arrangement of strings and pulleys, touched at the proper moment by his foot, manages to let off the sunset gun and to pull down the standard, and this, too, without leaving his beat as sentinel the while. To a casual observer who notices this threefold performance, who sees the smoke circling upward from one part of the fort, who sees the stately stars and stripes descending the flagstaff in another, and yet who notices the soldierly figure of the sentinel unconcernedly pacing his beat on still a third part of the fortress, nothing seems amiss. He would therefore be ignorant at what a terrible cost in time, thought, and ingenuity this had been accomplished. It is even stated that a member of Congress once sailing by was struck by the lavish extravagance of Uncle Samuel in maintaining a garrison at this distant point, and on his return to Washington demanded an investigation. A commission, it is said, went down at $5,000 per year each man, sat on Sergeant McKenna, and since they could not very well cut him off, they cut off his powder.

From that day Sergeant McKenna's spirits began to flag. Sergeant McKenna, though garrisoning the fortress, has always boarded at Mrs. Ayres'. Mrs. Ayres lives in the village of East Key, and the fortress, as we know, is connected with the village by a bridge. This bridge is some six hundred feet long, and when the tide is in the fortress is an island. Now the boys of East Key, quick to notice the changed demeanor of the Sergeant, would wait at the town end of the bridge to observe his comings and goings to and from Mrs. Ayres', and, as is the wont of boys, would chaff him, shout at him, ask him how the garrison was feeling, and how much Uncle Sam allowed for powder.

At first Sergeant McKenna treated these taunts with the contempt they deserved, he would unlock, or relock as the case might be, the padlock of the wooden gate of the bridge, deposit the key of the fort in his pocket, and go his way. But once when the youths, thinking the garrison was absent, scaled this wooden gate, and attempted to carry the fortress by storm, Sergeant McKenna unexpectedly sallied forth, charged down upon them, and vowed he'd fill them so full of shot that their mothers wouldn't know them. Then the boys' feelings underwent a sudden change, and from contempt, they began to feel respect for the Sergeant.

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As time went on, they even got to lend him their assistance in cleaning the guns, and keeping up the appearance of things generally about the fort, actually at last depriving themselves of their tops and marbles, as is the nature of boys, to pay for the gun polish and blacking their country was too poor to supply, as any late visitor to East Key will testify. Nevertheless, in spite of these evidences of devotion, the Sergeant has been lately growing morose. Though not an alarmist, he has begun to feel it in his bones that war is possible. Each day, therefore, after returning from Mrs. Ayres', he sweeps the horizon with his glass and watches for the enemy whose coming he predicts.

Sergeant McKenna is not only losing his spirits but is losing his flesh, and his bones are the best indices left to him.

Yet smile as you may, there is something grand in the spectacle of this poor old man standing by the government that has so cruelly neglected him.

Tattered and torn, hungry and sorrowful, the butt of ridicule for all men—and yet some $136,000,000 of surplus. The late patriotic demands on his pocket have made serious inroads on his stomach, he pays half board, and gets half fare at Mrs. Ayres'. A reef in his belt for breakfast, a long walk for dinner, and a sweep of the glass for supper, will constitute before long his sole apology for rations.

But there he stands, a monument to the generosity of a great people, especially suggestive at this very moment when fortification bills and army bills have to struggle so hard for mere consideration on the floors of Congress.

Yes, there stands the Sergeant, and probably there he will stand until he answers "Here" to the last roll-call which summons us all to that longer campaign.

LLOYD S. BRYCE.

XI.

SENTIMENTAL VANDALISM.

THE mania for the removal of noted ancient monuments and buildings, in some way connected with historical associations, or with the lives of great men, seems to be a quite recent disorder, and it seems, too, to be on the increase. When the Elgin marbles were brought to England many years ago there was a definite reason which could be urged in justification of the proceeding. They were works of art of such a remarkable character that their esthetic value alone, as educators, palliated, in a measure, whatever sin there might have been in a despoilment, certainly not mercenary, and, in a way, related to dime museum emotions. The act, blamed at the time, has been long since cleared—if not of regret—of absolute ruthlessness.

But can we put this plea forward on behalf of a coarse obelisk or column, which is interesting, to be sure, but which has no refinement of art, and which is mainly interesting coupled with its necessary environment.

One obelisk will not reproduce for us Egypt, nor would the Pyramid of Gizeh, if it could be easily transplanted to a Western shore. It is fortunate that it cannot be moved, and fortunate that the Sphinx, which is reported to have said to Emerson when they met, "You are another," cannot be moved either, so deeply is it enmountained in the drifted sands. Still, if there were the slightest hope that these things could be procured and transplanted, there are persons ready to undertake the task at once, and they would do it without the slightest compunction.

In this country the house in which General Grant was born has been moved for a vulgar show, and an unsuccessful effort was made not long since to trans-

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port Libby Prison from Richmond to Chicago. Sentimentalism which takes one to see things where they are rooted, and with their surroundings, has something in it worthy of respect; but the feeling which prompts their removal, or which would give them a rotation like a circus, is every way vulgar and despicable. As to Libby Prison, it was nothing but a ridiculously plain brick tobacco warehouse, into which a ghastly history went; but when I stood before it and before Castle Thunder at the end of the war, there was scarcely a physical thing about either that was capable of recalling the mind to the former horrible realities. It needed the James River and the city and everything about them to eke out one's imagination. To remove and try to keep alive such embers as these would be of a gigantic civil strife long since hushed by honorable peace and re established national union, would have been something worse than vandalism, and meaner than mere vulgarity.

Just now, I observe, the English people are being appealed to by a voluminous woman novelist for funds with which to ravish Egypt once more. The offense will not be quite like the one last referred to; but, if committed, will pass into the saucer-eyed Dime Museum category. The effort put forth in this instance is to remove from Egypt to England certain "colossal sculptures" of the great Temple of Bubastes. They are said to have no scientific value, and reproductions of them would serve every purpose of the originals themselves. But as Egypt has not put its foot down—or cannot—as Greece and Turkey have on transportations of this sort, lack of funds only can prevent their removal.

There ought to be a bitter punishment, however, in the reflection that you don't get the thing after all which is intended by this sort of detachment. As it was with the bird's nest in Emerson's verses, and the shells on the seashore, they cease, when brought away, to give their original satisfaction. For without their background and environment they are essentially different things. When the first idle curiosity has passed, they fade into a very common light, and public interest vanishes. It would be well now, if some law, both national and international, could be enacted to diminish, if not extirpate, all these various efforts of senseless spoliation.

JOEL BENTON.

XII.

TENDENCY OF OUR EDUCATION.

MUCH is expected from the new education. Its advocates foretell for us an age of intellectual growth and intellectual achievement heretofore unknown and undreamed of. Illiteracy and ignorance are to fade before it. Vice and squalor will hide their faces, not in the heart of some great city, but in the realm of perpetual shades, from the dazzling brightness of the new education. Nor are we, the enlightened, to be the only benefited; on the contrary, it may penetrate even to the deepest wilds of Africa, to the jungles of the Bushman. The heathen, half-barbaric hordes of the East and the North are to feel its thrill and respond to its inspiration.

But we pause at this category. Very naturally the question comes, Is this logically to be expected? and who are its advocates? and, finally, how much truth is there in it? Let our aim be candidly to seek the truth; to tolerate nothing else.

It is further claimed by the disciples of the new education, in their confidence and honesty, that it is to dawn upon us as a revolution! This is largely what has been claimed for it, together with its panacean qualities; for not a single formula of the new education has so far been finally determined. We are led to question

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the actuality of any revolution in the domain of letters or of education. We may ask, Has there been any revolution in these particular fields in the Church? There has been a reformation and a renaissance. But both are revolutionary in their development. The domains of letters, the church and the school, have never been free from changes of this nature. Logically, we are led to inquire what has led up to the present situation in education, and to explore its history and science for the solution.

History of education throws a light upon the subject that ought to remove this intellectual strabismus with which many seem to view it, for it shows them parallel situations, while in its pages may be read the winnowing method by which truth is reached; and it teaches the greater truth that extremes are not stable; it further teaches that this truth lies as far as possible from both extremes, and is, therefore, midway between. From their careful study I draw the following conclusions:

Education had its conception in empiricism. Therefore, for ages it dealt only with the objective. The ancient Greeks were educated in the arena; gymnastics and the art of expression were the sum total of the Athenian curriculum. This is more incontestably true of an earlier age still. Philosophy and Political Economy were held in less veneration by the class of state than was oratory; book learning did not add to their repute.

Being wholly empirical, the age was extreme, and, therefore, unstable. Socrates saw it and protested; Plato wrote to correct it. A reaction set in. The trend was towards the ideal. Quintilian was conscious of this and gave his impressions to the world; the educational pendulum was on the swing.

The move culminated in the time of the Renaissance, in an education as extremely subjective as the other had been empirical. Tales of the cloister speak to us of this. The Natural Sciences went not into the laboratory or the field. Whole meaningless sections of Horace were rendered *verbatim et literatim*. This condition proved unstable, and once more the oscillation was on. This time it was back towards the empirical. The move had its instruments and advocates.

The names of Luther, Sturm, Ratke, Comenius, are lights along its dark path, blazing the way. Inertia asserted itself, the truth was passed, and now this swing is culminating in an extreme of empiricism bidding fair to rival the Socratean age. The Kindergarten is an evidence; Manual Training is a further outcome; the New Education is proclaimed as its climax. This condition will not endure; the sequence is plain; Milton or Bacon might have foretold it!

Then the purely empirical is sentiment, as is the purely ideal. As to what we ought to strive for, such a perfect man as Plato pictured should be our *beau ideal*. This condition will be gained by resting in the truth which is midway between these extremes. But the process by which we must reach it is necessarily slow. It is a winnowing process. But we may hope some day to rest in this truth; that the swings will grow shorter and shorter, and finally cease altogether.

This condition may be hastened by a diffusion of the history and the science of education. Then will the youth be made a man before he is fashioned an instrument. Then teachers will go from college to their first task of instruction thinkers and observers, and not crammed with method. Then the epithet, teachers made in six weeks, will not be censoriously flung at the normal school door. Then will man know himself as well as the world. This ought to be the New Education.

HERBERT TIDD BRADLEY.

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BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

I.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A RUSSIAN SOLDIER.

ALEXANDER VERESTCHAGIN is not widely known to fame, but he is entitled to thanks for the very interesting, though rather lengthy and sometimes tedious, story of his life and adventures as a well-born Russian and soldier.* The first part of this book is taken up with an account of the author's childhood and youth; the second with his adventures as an *aide* to the impetuous Skobeloff in the late Danubian war; the third part furnishes us with some particulars of the Tekke expedition formed for the reduction of a trans-Caspian tribe of Turcomans who had proved themselves valiant and troublesome foes of Russia in her dispute with Turkey about the provinces. The reader will derive a great deal of information from these pages about Russian people and Russian ways of fighting. The author does not pose as a celebrity, on the contrary, he sometimes rather needlessly belittles himself, and writes very modestly of his personal achievements. By reading such books as this one gets a better idea of a foreign country and people than many persons could do by months of travel; hence there is a value to a truthfully descriptive and ingenuous work of this order far exceeding the intrinsic worth of the facts recorded.

II.

MISCELLANEOUS.

HOWARD SEELY—whether a genuine name or *nom de plume* we know not—writes a pleasant story,† in which some features of Western frontier life are vividly sketched. The author is evidently a keen and close observer. This fact, indeed, gives the greatest value and interest to the book, for the plot and plan of the story are both weak and commonplace. A gentleman ranchman somewhere out on the Colorado River, falls in by accident with a pretty and pert maiden, the untutored and unsophisticated daughter of an old settler. The girl speaks frontier language, and is charmingly ignorant of conventionalities, but is a girl of pluck and daring, and her attractions are sufficient in our hero's eyes to make him break off an incipient courtship with a fascinating young lady of his own social class. The author's literary tact and skill are shown in the purely descriptive passages, such as the turkey hunt on the Texas prairie, and the murder trial before Judge Pemberton and a jury of the town of Oskaloo, which are faithful and character-

*"At Home and in War, 1853-1881." Reminiscences and Anecdotes. By Alexander Verestchagin. Translated by Isabel Hapgood. T. Y. Crowell & Co.

† "A Nymph of the West." A novel. By Howard Seely. D. Appleton & Co.

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istic sketches. We would suggest greater study of the plan and general features of novel writing, and an assiduous cultivation of descriptive writing from a close study of humanity and nature.

Mr. Richard Dowling, in his collection of papers styled "Ignorant Essays,"* does not impress us as being possessed of any remarkable powers of observation, or as being entitled to special attention for his novel or piquant criticisms. As a man of general culture and literary experience, his particular opinions and views are sure to be of some interest, and as sure to be well expressed; and there is also abundant range, in the free and off-hand irony, for the play of fancy and the exercise of memory and of the critical faculty. The author has availed himself of this freedom to skip from topic to topic in the most approved style of light and airy gossip; but the result is neither very entertaining nor specially striking, and after reading two or three essays we find it difficult to proceed. The fact is that this style of essay writing, with its continuous use of the first personal pronoun, demands a great deal of brain and brilliancy, or it soon becomes wearisome; and in these essays the constant use of the pronoun I is really the most noticeable feature, and, in the absence of other important qualities, condemns the book. In his essay on Allegory the author kills the "Pilgrim's Progress" in this style: "I am writing in an off-hand way, and I will not pause to examine the question nicely; but is there any such thing as a successful allegory? I have no experience of one. I seem to hear a loud shout of 'The Pilgrim's Progress.' Well, I never could read the book through, and I have tried at least twenty times. I have put the reading of that book before myself in the most solemn manner. I have told myself over and over again that I ought to read it as an educational exercise. In vain. How any man with imagination can bear the book I do not know." This kind of essay writing reminds us of a young ranchman, who, after a prolonged struggle with a colt who was an unwilling subject of the lariat rope, described his sensations as suggesting a contest with a demon with a thousand eyes and a thousand limbs in perpetual motion.

Mr. Adee's fanciful romance† does credit to his inventive talents, and proves his ability to make the most of matter of fact materials. The story is dated at a period so recent as to make it appear almost a piece of contemporary history. It deals with a certain mystery connected with a New York family,—fictitious, of course,—victims of a belief in Voodooism, and it minutely describes the methods taken to unravel the mystery and expose the criminalities believed to be interwoven therewith. Many persons are said to have been inveigled into this house on some pretext or other and to have thenceforward disappeared from view. In following up certain clues, discoveries are made which throw light upon the hidden and horrible rite of snake worship, and at the same time reveal the tricks and rascalities of a couple of fascinating women. A love story is delicately interwoven with these matters. Despite a little prolixity in the details, the book has a certain fascination for the lovers of the marvelous, and has a quiet vein of humor about it which makes it wholesome vacation reading.

The life of Constans L. Goodell‡ is the record of an earnest, broad-minded, God-fearing man, whose years were spent in successful Christian work, first as

* "Ignorant Essays." By Richard Dowling. D. Appleton & Co.

† "No. 19 State Street." By David Graham Adee Cassell & Co.

‡ "The Life of Constans L. Goodell, D.D." By A. H. Currier, D.D. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

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pastor of the South Church in New Britain, Conn., and later, till the close of his life, in the Pilgrim Church of St. Louis. In the hands of Dr. Currier, of Oberlin, this record of a noble life is presented in a most acceptable manner. The style is simple, direct, and unassuming. There is little that is purely eulogistic. The facts are clearly stated, and the reader is allowed to draw his own conclusions. It is safe to say that all who love righteousness, and honor Christian faithfulness, as well as those who enjoy well-written biography, will accord a welcome to this excellent book. Numerous graphic and entertaining letters, written during the five journeys which Dr. Goodell made abroad, diversify the pages, and show us a genial, home-loving man.

The hero of Mohammed Benani* is a Russian gentleman of fortune who expatriates himself, and, with his wife, who is rather the abler person of the two, seeks a home in Northern Africa, because he is depressed by the sight of so much wretchedness in his own country which he is unable to relieve. His overflowing benevolence, however, soon finds a broad field of labor in the cause of the oppressed natives in the land of his adoption. The main issues of the story are sometimes obscured by tedious by-play, but the episodes of Eftomah and Casimir; the unhappy duel whose final catastrophe has no satisfactory explanation, and the night attack on Medoura, have sufficient dramatic interest to carry the reader through considerable less entertaining matter. The opening scenes occur at Mauritania, but the arrest of Paulovitch transfers us temporarily to Russia, and there is a characteristic encounter with Russian officials, including the "white Czar" himself. No author's name appears on the title-page, but the book is understood to be the work of Mr. Ion Perdicaris (the son of a Greek refugee of 1830, a former professor at Yale College), who is now residing in London, though the preface is dated from Tangiers.

Dr. Barrows' disquisition on the Indian question† is a re-presentation of a theme not new, but not too frequently discussed so long as the important problem remains unsolved. The same task has been more satisfactorily accomplished by others, but many who have not the leisure for a more extended work will welcome this, which is brought within such limits as to attract the attention of busy people. Dr. Barrows evidently does not consider the main question: What shall be done with the Indian, but, How shall we secure honest white men to administer the good laws enacted at Washington, and How restrain the iniquitous examples of the corrupt inhabitants of the border. Incoherency of statement and inexact language mar certain portions of the book, but it is calculated to throw light on a dark page of our history, and it will undoubtedly be successful.

No daintier volume of verse has lately been produced than the collection‡ of ballads, rondeaus, chants royal, triolets and other quaint and musical forms of poetry, imitated from the time of the Troubadours by modern authors, and brought together in a happy arrangement by Mr. Gleeson White. It is an excellent selection for the summer lounger in the hammock or on the beach. Each poem is brief; no style is so continuous as to become monotonous; and airy, graceful fancies trickle lightly through the harmonious measures. A well-written and

* "The Case of Mohammed Benani." A story of to-day. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

† "The Indian's side of the Indian Question." By William Barrows, D.D. Boston: D. Lothrop Company.

‡ "Ballads and Rondeaus, Chants Royal, Sestinas, Villanelles, etc." Selected, with chapter on the Various Forms, by Gleeson White. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

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valuable sketch of the early French lyric poetry, and the rules governing their construction precedes the verses, which, it may be said, are taken from a great variety of sources, from English, French, and American authors, and are fittingly clothed in a dress of Gobelin blue and gold. Here is a specimen verse from "The Pipes of Pan":

"In these prosaic days
Of politics and trade,
Where seldom fancy lays
Her touch on man or maid,
The sounds are fled that strayed
Along sweet streams that ran;
Of song the world's afraid;
Where are the Pipes of Pan?

Several interesting incidents of Revolutionary times are woven together to form a small volume * in the "Classics for Home and School" series. The work is not a classic from whatever standpoint it is considered. Numerous rhetorical errors are found; the style is often involved and ambiguous, and the vocabulary extremely commonplace. If the children for whom it is written are too young to discover these blemishes, they will find the thrilling stories of life in war time very entertaining.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

D. Appleton & Co.

Ninette. An Idyll of Provence. By the author of "Vera."
A Virginia Inheritance. A novel by Edmund Pendleton.

G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Tariff History of the United States. F. W. Taussig.
Industrial Liberty. John M. Bonham.
The Independent in Politics. James Russell Lowell.

Lee & Shepard.

The Boston Tea Party and other stories. Henry C. Watson.
Mexico. Picturesque, Political, Progressive. Mary Elizabeth Blake and Margaret F. Sullivan.

L. K. Strouse.

The Civil Service Law. William Harrison Clark.

Bloch & Co.

The Rabbinical Dialectics. Aaron Hahn.

Webster & Co.

A Library of American Literature. Compiled and edited by Edmund Clarence Stedman and Ellen Mackay Hutchinson. In ten volumes. Vols. I. to IV.

* "Noble Deeds of Our Fathers. As Told by Soldiers of the Revolution Gathered Around the Old Bell of Independence." Revised and adapted from Henry C. Watson. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

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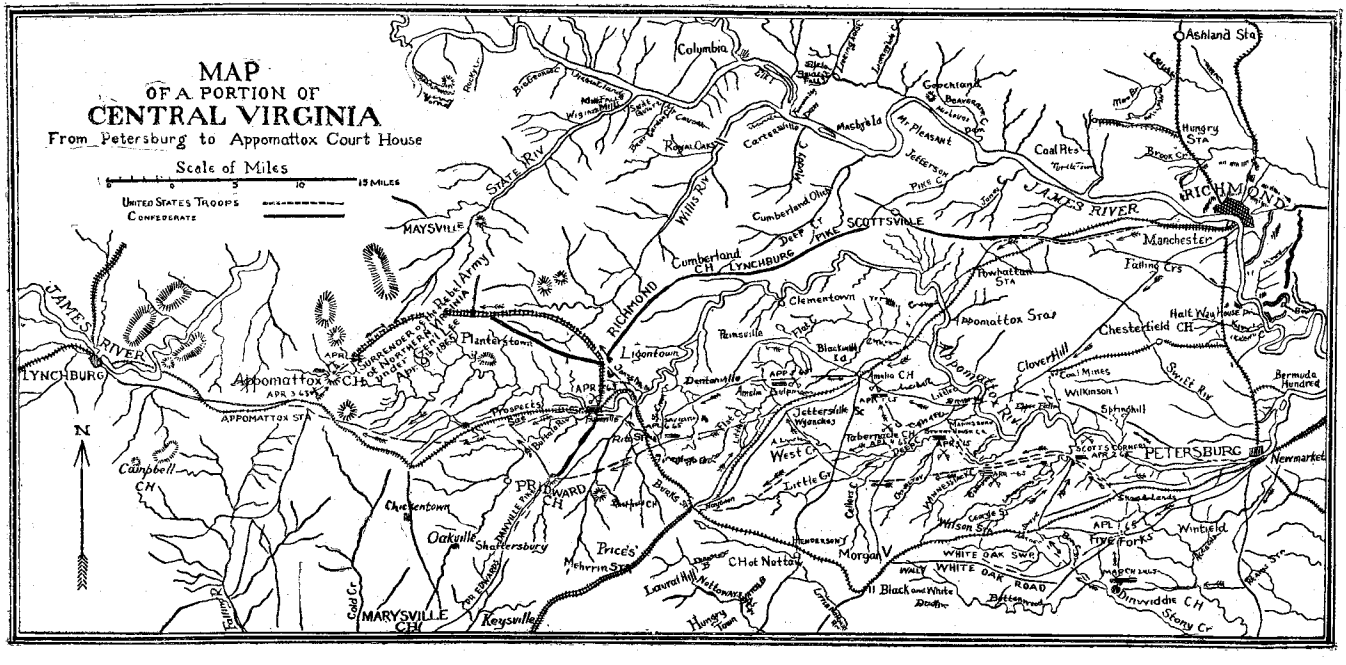

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